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DALIT AUTOBIOGRAPHY AS AUTOETHNOGRAPHY: A STUDY OF MANOHAR MOULI BISWAS' *SURVIVING IN MY WORLD*

BIDISHA PAL, MD. MOJIBUR RAHMAN

ABSTRACT

The present study examines the concept of autoethnography in a Bengali Dalit autobiography. Dalit autobiographies are distinct from the mainstream autobiographies; Dalit self-narratives often become alternative historiographies which draw out the suppressed voices of history surrounding the self and the society. This very particularity makes the autobiography an 'autoethnography'– a term which connotes a simultaneous representative tale or 'graphy' of 'auto' (self) and 'ethno' (culture). The study embarks on *Surviving in My World: Growing Up Dalit in Bengal* (2015) by the Bengali Dalit author Manohar Mouli Biswas, translated and edited by Jaydeep Sarangi and Angana Dutta. Apart from being a bildungsroman, Biswas' auto-narrative frequently ventures to the cultural and social spheres of the Bengali *Namasudra Chandal* community which Biswas belongs to. Biswas also provides occasional allusions to the surrounding historical and literary events and the intertwining personal and collective memory of the suffering and surviving in a casteist and partitioned Bengal. Through a minute study of *Surviving in My World*, the article tends to validate the concept of autoethnography by substantiating examples from the text, how the autobiography of a Bengali Dalit appropriates the term in its presentation and whether the simultaneous monologic and polyphonic narratorial voices cause any meddling in the authenticity of narrative representation.
Keywords: autoethnography, community, personal and collective memorizing, alternative history, monologic voice, polyphonic voice.

Autoethnography is the method of connecting the personal to the cultural, a simultaneous study of 'auto' (self), 'ethno' (culture), and 'graphy' (tale). The concept of autoethnography has been vividly defined by Ellis and Bochner (2000). According to them, an autoethnography is:

> An autobiographical genre of writing and research that displays multiple layers of consciousness, connecting the personal to the cultural... In these texts, concrete action, dialogue, emotion, embodiment, spirituality, and self-consciousness are featured, appearing as relational and institutional stories affected by history, social structure, and culture which themselves are dialectically revealed through action, feeling, thought, and language. (739)

In India, the Dalits are the most wretched victims of the politics of exclusion in history as well as in existing literary hegemony. Dalit self-narratives account for the unrecorded and "small voice of history" (Guha 1-12). The voice delimits the boundary of experiencing and examining the self in an individual autobiography to become the shared voices of the community. In an interview with Mukherjee (2004) Limbale shows that each Dalit person's life encompasses the lives of all Dalits. Notable Dalit self-narratives *Karukku* (1992) by Bama, *Joothan* or *The Leftover* (1997) by Omprakash Valmiki, *Uchyala* or *The Branded* (1999) by Laxman Gaikwad, *Aayadan* or *The Weave of Basket* (2003) by Urmila Pawar, *Akkarmasi* or *The Outcaste* (2003) by Saran Kumar Limbale, *Jina Amucha* (1986) or *The Prisons We Broke* (2009) by Baby Kamble remain testimonies to the unrecorded history of different times, both individual and collective. Dalit autobiography engages in analysis and interpretation of the socio-cultural community life surrounding the self with intertwined subjective emotion, lively actions, and objective empiricism. The monologic and personal 'I' of the narrative transforms into a polyphonic and communal 'I' and in this process, the autobiography takes the form of an autoethnography.

The Dalits in Bengal are subject to the sub-subaltern categorization in the hierarchical ladder of society by the dichotomy of caste and class politics. This has been time and again discussed in other autobiographies and autobiographical narratives as well such as *Itibritte Chandal Jiban* (2012) (Trans. *Interrogating My Chandal Life: Autobiography of a Dalit*, 2018) by Manoranjan Byapari, *Deshbhager Smriti* (2010) (Remembrances of Partition) (4 vols.) and *Allar Jomite Pa* (2012) (Setting Foot on God's Soil) by Adhir Biswas, *Amar Shikorh Chhera Jiban* (2012) (My Uprooted Life) by Jatin Bala. Apart from being the auto-narratives of the Bengali Dalit authors, these narratives become the socio-political and cultural testimonies of Bengal where caste segregation is regarded as a form of hidden apartheid. *Surviving in My World: Growing up Dalit in Bengal* (2015), the autobiography of Manohar Mouli Biswas, originally written in Bengali as *Amar Bhubane Ami Benche Thaki* (2013) and translated and edited by Jaydeep Sarangi and Angana Dutta, recounts the tale of the suffering existence and struggle for the sustenance of a Dalit's life in a surrounding world of societal upheavals and political turmoil. Apart from portraying the journey of the narrator's self, the narrative gives

accounts of the societal, political, and cultural history of the heretofore suppressed and oppressed *Chandal Namasudra*[1] people of Bengal around. A telling bildungsroman with recurring cinematic montages, *Surviving in My World* tends to be ethnographic research of Biswas' community through minute descriptions and occasional choric commentaries on part of the narrator.

The article examines the way an individual memory becomes the collective memory, the intertwined relationship of community, society, and self and the rupturing narratorial voices in Biswas's autobiography consisting of the 'auto' (self), 'ethno' (society), and 'graphy' (tale).

AUTOBIO/ETHNOGRAPHY AND BISWAS' NARRATIVE

Autobiography and autobiographical narratives tend to be both self-revealing and self-reflexive. While registering experiences auto-narratives or self-narratives reflect self-realizations which are occasionally epiphanic. Autobiographies speak about retracing, retrieving, or revitalizing memories, brought out in the present by traversing through the past. It is a journey of the autobiographer's life and the time he lives himself.

There are several conventional literary ways to document one's own life through memoirs, diary recording, letters, and anecdotes. Some of which are often written in confessional mode through which a person establishes communication to the world outside and speaks his hearts out. Personal narratives or self-narratives sometimes serve the purpose of conducting researches in methodological ways to study and scrutinize lives; not only one's own life but also by focusing on the lives of others.

Ellis and Bochner (2000) note four-fold perspectives of self-narratives as permeated by social scientists:

> 1. Reflective Ethnographies in which 'authors use their own experiences in the culture reflexivity to bend back on self and look more deeply at self-other interaction.' 2. Texts by Complete Member Researchers who 'explore groups of which they already are members or in which they have become full members with complete identification and acceptance'. 3. Personal Narratives written by social scientists about 'some aspect of their experience in daily life' and 4. Literary Autoethnography written by an autobiographical writer who 'focuses as much on examining self autobiographically as an interpreting a culture of or a narrative audience. (740)

[1] Joya Chatterji mentions that "in the 1870s, Chandals of Bakarganj and Faridpur boycotted caste Hindus "when they refused to accept an invitation to dine from a Chandal headman; and henceforth they "battled continuously to improve their ritual position" and later claimed the "more respectable title of 'Namasudra' and Brahmin status" (Chatterjee 2002, 191-194). One section of historians says that the Namasudras were a "large non-Aryan caste of eastern Bengal, mainly engaged in boating and cultivation" (Seal 1971, 374). Bandyopadhyay mentions that the Dalit of Bengal became involved in the Partition related movement, and the "two most important communities, who dominated Dalit politics in the province, were the Namasudras and the Rajbanshis" (Bandopadhyay 2004, 192).

The purpose of research in a self-narrative or personal narrative lies in the approach of writing an autoethnography. In a way, an autoethnography is "an alternative method and form of writing" (Neville-Jan 89). While autobiography is the projection of one's own life and achievements and makes space for psychic epiphanies; autoethnography is "social epiphanies" (Devy xxii), it draws out the suppressed picture of the society and community lives that constructs dialogic relation with the self. According to Wall, "The growing popularity of contemporary self-narratives rides on the back of post-modernism that values voices of common people, defying the conventional authoritative elitism of autobiography" (qtd. in Chang 26). At the advent of the postmodern and postcolonial paradigm shifts of the 1970s-80s in literary theory and social science, the very centrality and homogeneity of autobiographical narratives have been questioned. 'The 'crisis of confidence' inspired by postmodernism in the 1980s introduces new and abundant opportunities to reform social science and re-conceive the objectives and forms of social science inquiry. Caldeira shows in an article (2016), "the subaltern studies deployed Gramsci's ideas significantly in history writing and by 1970's, social history 'from below' began to be written unraveling people's histories which had been ignored by the Grand Historical Narratives" (74). Postmodern social scientist Jean Francois Lyotard has called the tendency an "incredulity towards metanarratives" (24) and proposes an alternative space for emerging 'small narratives' or 'local narratives' or 'micro-narratives' that concern the local history and surroundings of the inhabitants of diasporas, subaltern, marginalization, exile, colour, and migration zones- all of whom deviate from the centre of society.

Surviving in My World: Growing Up Dalit in Bengal, as an autoethnography, serves as one of the emerging 'micro narratives' of the so far subsided Bengali Dalit community: "He writes it since he believes untold stories of Dalit *Namashudra* settlements need to be represented, their culture and deprivations, strengths and struggles, in all their history need to be comprehended by mainstream writers" (xvii). Dalit self-narratives are 'witness-writing' or 'testimonios.'[2] According to Waghmare (2006), Dalit life narratives not only focus on the journey of an individual voice, emotion, and consciousness but rather a social and community-based chorus of voices. Biswas' auto-narrative unfolds the testimony of some unrecorded history of Bengal that he witnesses and in which he participates as well. Within this bildungsroman, the witness of others' 'small histories' takes place-that history which has so far been suppressed by the majoritarian history of power, politics, identity formation, nationalism, and propaganda. Bandyopadhyay, in his forward of the autobiography, notes-"Through

[2] Beverley defines the genre: "A testimonio is a narrative in book or pamphlet form, told in the first person by a narrator who is also the real protagonist or witness of events he or she recounts and whose unit of narration is usually 'a life' or significant life experiences" (Beverley 2004, 92-93).

the story of his own life he brings out the various aspects of that hierarchical disjuncture and asymmetrical power relations in mid-twentieth century rural Bengal" (xiii).

The plot revolves around Biswas' journey from childhood towards old age with various ethnographic attributes that intersperse throughout the narrative. While the account is of the writer's own self, it simultaneously focuses on the lives of the others; Biswas retrieves the collective memories of his family and the *Chandal Namasudra* community he belongs. The detailed presentations and interpretations of the customs, practice, religious beliefs of his community and Biswas's emotional and contemplative responses towards those synthesize the autobiography to an autoethnography. It thus reflects "the ordinariness of Dalit life instead of their uniqueness" (Naik 280). In this autobiography (primarily a bildungsroman), caste and caste-based afflictions become a prime deciding factor; Biswas mentions various events that collectively put efforts to make him realize that he is a Dalit. The narrative penned down by Biswas mingles both subjective emotion and objective contemplation of an autobiographer and an ethnographic researcher and thus complicates the narrator-narrated relationship of a life-narrative to some extent.

PEEPING INTO BISWAS' WORLD: AUTO AND ETHNOGRAPHIC NUANCES

Autoethnography focuses on interactive dialogue between community and self in the cultural and personal milieu. "Culture…taken in its wide ethnographic sense is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (Tylor 1). Biswas's world is enriched with cultural, historical, and social emblems, religious beliefs, customs, and practices. According to Geertz (1973), an ethnographer should make commentaries and interpretations of the culture he studies. Geertz argues that the task of anthropology is that of explaining cultures through "thick description" which specifies many details, conceptual structures and meanings unlike "thin description" which produces mere facts. Being a community insider Biswas renders on each ethnographic attribute of his community and gains first-hand experience of a researcher of anthropology. He draws out the specificities of the culture in his community throughout his autobiography. The detailed venture to the cultural habitat and the peculiarities of cultural emblems build the autoethnographic tone of the narrative.

The narrative journey can be divided into several parts which provide a broad and vivid description of the narrator's personal and communal life. Biswas starts his narrative with an account of his family members. At the outset of the story, he depicts his *ma* (mother) and *jethima* (aunt) being engaged in strenuous household chores. There are also minute and picturesque references to his *baba* (father) and *thakurda* (grandfather) discussing enlightening the *namashudras* with education and freedom from servility. However, as Denshire (2013) argues, "While

autoethnography contains elements of autobiography, it goes beyond the writing of selves" (2). Biswas, too unlike the conventional story-telling mode of an auto-biography, chooses to narrate the particularities of his *Namashudra* community that reflect his self.

RELIGIOUS CUSTOM AND PRACTICE

The first and foremost element that Biswas talks about is religion. Biswas focuses on the religious bend of his community which faintly believes in the predominant *Vaishnavism* sect of Hindu religion although unlike Hinduism, *Vaishnavism* does not promote caste discrimination. "However, even though they were not Vaishanavas, they were respectful towards Vaishnavism" (9-10). Talking about the specificity of the religion of his community Biswas puts forward particular facts, "I have never witnessed any enthusiasm in their making the *tulsi* rosary or the *tilak* their own practice. Rather, they were more attracted to the Matua religion propagated by a great man of our community, Harichand Thakur, who came centuries after Sri Chaitanya" (10). This particular way of endorsing the religious sentiment and addressing the religiosity of his community originates in the *Matua*[3] belief. One notable habitual practice of worshipping is vividly described through the activity of the priest and the members of the household:

> If thakurmashai, the priest, visited someone's home for performing religious rites then arrangements would have to be made for him to cook his own food. The women of the household would neatly smear one end of the veranda with cow dung, which acted as a cleaner and a disinfectant. If the place had a mud stove then that would be smeared with cow-dung as well. If someone did not have a ready-made stove in their veranda then the woman or a widow who was well versed in these rituals would make herself ready for the ritual by wearing washed clothes. She would wash the utensils for cooking to a shine and give them to thakurmashai. She also supplied him with chopped straw for fuel and sometimes even lit the stove. She would have to grind the spices on the grinding stone. (Biswas 10-11)

There is a subtle layer of discrimination working beneath the detailed description of this practising ritual. The priest who belongs to the upper caste Brahmin section of society is the epitome of discriminatory politics of casteism who nurtures the idea of distant pollution owing to separatism and bigotry. In

[3] 'Matua' is a sect of avarna Hindu folk religion which believes in only in *Gotra* but not in *varna* or caste. The movement was launched as a reformation by the followers of Harichand Thakur, popularly to by adherents as God Harichand. Born to a peasant family belonging to the Namasudra community, Thakur was said to attain *atmadarshan* (self-insight) at an early age and would subsequently preach his Darshan (Realizations) in Twelve Commandments. The teachings of Thakur establish education as preeminently important for the adherent and the upliftment of the population the adherent's duty, while also providing a formula for ending the social conflict. For more on this, Halder 1393, 47; Sanyal 1981; Ray, eds., 1995.

referring religious traits of the community, Biswas portrays an unquestioning faith and dignity in the *Matua* custom: "Since my childhood I have always seen my mother dedicated to the Matua faith propagated by Harichand-Guruchand" (51). That their religious life falls into a very distinct zone can be seen from the very manner religious practices and customs are represented. One can very well address the subjective and objective overlapping emotions in narrating events of an endogenous Bengali *Charal-Chandal*[4] commune and the ethos of rural community lives.

The religious beliefs and practices that are presented with keen observation and analysis make Biswas an ethnographic researcher. Biswas interprets the data with a critical as well as a choric bend of mind. Autoethnography research is thus an intermingling of empirical, reflexive, and analytical research. While the empirical and the reflexive research contain elements of subjectivity; analytical research represents a detached, unbiased, and objective point of view. Biswas draws out occasional motifs of culture within the community which act as the stratified structural base in constructing his self.

SOCIO-CULTURAL AND LITERARY ATTRIBUTES

According to Chang, "self learns values, norms, and customs from others to become a proper member of a community. Self contributes to the continuity of the community as well. In the give-and-take process, the self is invariably bound with others within the cultural group" (22). The cultural life that is presented in the narrative proves this point. Culture plays a key role in the development of Biswas' self because it is through the cultural attributes Biswas learns to accumulate experiences and pay sufficient attention to his community. Biswas blends the quintessential Bengali flavour in the line: "Fish is of course a favorite food for the Bengalis. If I narrate how much fish we had a chance of eating during my childhood that would be yet another story!" (19). This is a sort of deliberation towards a regional and culture-centric notion which is inherently attached to the people and the socio-cultural locale of Bengal. Apart from this, Biswas shows an affinity towards the literacy and the literary activities of his community:

> The nama community has given birth to many poets, and needless to say the stock of their creation was huge. The boys of the village were well versed in these lyrical songs. Their illiteracy, their poverty, did not sour them and they remained engrossed in their world. They had sculpted their world in their own style, and just as the outer world had provided no entry there, they did not step out of their world (Biswas 38).

[4] Varna divides the society into four groups ordered in a hierarchy; beyond these, outside the system, lies a fifth group known as the Chandala (untouchable). (For more, Thapar 2004, 63). "Though he is physically almost practically unknown, save and except in Bengal, calling someone a Chandal is the ultimate insult and humiliation of a Hindu anywhere under the sun." See Biswas 2000, 8.

The distinguished culture that encompasses the community and the community people tends to make his life meaningful and reflective. It also sets the distinguished tone of this auto-ethno narrative.

SOCIETY AND SOCIETAL HABITAT

Like a true gazing and minute researcher Biswas draws out facts regarding the habitats and physical lives of his community:

> So many villages depended on Go-dara as their lifeline. It was the source of sustenance for many families; not one or two villages-but fifty two villages of the namashudra people. Not all inhabitants were namashudras; there were a few people from other communities who also lived there. But all were of the dalit castes: jele, malo, muchi, chamar, dhopa. They had lived side by side for a long time. There were Muslims in some of the villages. Though of a different religion, they too belonged to backward communities. (Biswas 16-17)

The detailed description consisting of social and physical geographies surround Biswas' *Namashudra* community. While pointing out the certain specificities of the geographical features the narrative tone differs in many ways with conventional autobiography. In the autobiography, a writer focuses solely on the journey of his own self while restraining from describing other narrative personas. However, Biswas' autobiography, with sound analysis and interpretation of the surrounding social life makes moments alive and worth existence for a Dalit's 'community biography'.

The narrative reciprocates crisscross moments of personal anguish, depression, happiness, grief, and pride in weaving a child's life within a community. Regarding the custom of early marriage, Biswas expresses a feeling of pain and bitterness: "A custom had developed in our shuddur villages then. Girls studying in class five or six would be married off. Their parents thought that to be the ideal age for marriage. Boys, who went on studying, did so up to class nine or ten" (31). Sometimes a thin sense of pride flashes when he reflects on one of his community practice: "The nama community did not have the dowry system. Rather the groom's father had to give a rupee to the bride's father- a silver coin. Smearing the coin with vermilion, it was pressed on a piece of paper. This acted as a deed of final agreement" (Biswas 37).

This ethnographic details and incidents embracing various strands of life provide a new dimension and perspective to the life-writing form. In each description, there is a perfect blend of emotion and contemplation with the empiricist and the materialist self. This description makes the 'community biography' fruitful in its truest sense and interpreted in an enlightened way, as to quote Beth who has said aptly: "Through these various reflections on Dalit socio-cultural life, the Dalit community is not only portrayed as an oppressed group, but is imbued with new favorable characteristics such as hardworking, industrious, economical, skilled, playful, even joyous and festive" (549).

INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE MEMORY: INDIVIDUAL SELF AND COMMUNITY LIFE

Hillary Elliot, in a book review, shows that "the challenge of autoethnographic performance is to approach the Self as a 'social subject' and find ways of connecting an individual story with those of others so that spectators can 'understand and grapple with the meanings of life as we/they live it'" (139). A person is habituated to forget as much as he remembers. When one depicts one's life and ventures to the past, one passes through the interplay of memory and forgetfulness. There are trauma, pain, and suffering which are inscribed in a Dalit's memory. In an interview at the last part of the book Biswas, in conversing with Jaydeep Sarangi meditate upon the pain those wracking memories of the past cause which are worth forgetting:

> The reasons behind it is nothing but psychological; a kind of psycho-pleasure works within me at this moment which has pushed me ahead to forget the melancholy of the past. In Bengali, there is a saying: 'Hriday khuria bedana jagate kay bhalobashey?' (Who loves to awaken sorrows by delving into the heart?) Yes, I believe in the saying. The sadness had touched me severely once, and I want to forget it forever. (90)

In autoethnography individual memory meets collective memory. A Dalit does not suffer alone; he suffers with and within the community. The collective psyche of casteist traumatization results in the collective memory. 'Collective memory' as propounded by the philosopher and sociologist Maurice Halbwachs is a thing to be shared and passed on among small or large social groups. *Surviving in My World* enmeshes the community, culture, and self in a unique 'contact zone' where the personal self becomes eloquent in the community self. Biswas writes: "This world of mine is the dalit's world of illiteracy, the dalit's world of poverty, the world of keeping the dalits powerless, the dalit's world of sickness, the world of being unwanted, the world of jealousy-violence-hatred-abuse, the world of the multitudes staying alive, gasping. Although such conditions may be shared by non-dalit poor too, they are a persistent truth for the dalit populations" (xix). Biswas' self seems to take part in other, the people of his society. It is not his sole memory that he ventures on; there is a collective relativism in the process of memorizing. This tone gains an ethnographic reverberation as Biswas starts to settle a critical position while thinking contemplatively about his community: "I wrote this autobiography out of pain. This pain is of being belittled, of being unwanted, of being enslaved. May my people be able to come out of this and stand with their heads held high, may they be able to touch the summits of civilization-I remain alive amidst such hope" (Biswas xix-xx).

Biswas takes recourse to the memory of a distant past, the memory that is enmeshed in many other memories of his people, his own family, and community. In his own view: "This autobiography is my autobiography, my father's

autobiography, my grandfather's autobiography, my great grandfather's autobiography. This is the autobiography of remembering the bygone memories of my community" (Biswas 2012, 78). One cannot miss here the echo of Limbale, the Marathi Dalit author who regarding his autobiography *Akkarmashi* or 'The Outcaste' says in a confessing manner: "This is the story of my life, an expression my mother's agony and an autobiography of a community" (Introduction, xxiii).

Biswas introduces his life in the narrative just as a child remembers its own. The manner of narration contains a child's gazing soul and observation which correspond to the tone of the autobiography: "I often heard my baba saying something which I really cherished. Seated in the courtyard, he would say in a rustic accent, 'The children must get educated'" (1). Some persons cross his memory like his *jetha* (uncle) ordering him with household duties and beating him not being attended upon, his *dada* (elder brother) and *boudi's* (sister-in-law) early marriage and the birth and death of their premature baby, his father's painful death of severe cholera, the minute memories of childhood with his friends and sisters into fishing, adventures in jungle with *chhordi* (sister) to watch snake- mongoose fight, fish-catching practices at Go-dara river, playing in the *chencho* shrubs and with the pig-seller's children. Biswas says, "These everyday childhood memories visit me even now-they spread as a shelter across the colorful pages of my memories" (11). In these depictions, Biswas settles his *prima facie* position as an autobiographer, these memories; in much contain the autobiographic bend of mind.

Biswas' autobiography takes a shifting discourse of autoethnography also at that moment when he shares uneasy moments of caste afflictions. As autoethnography tends to produce social epiphanies; Biswas through some narrative episodes points out his epiphanic realizations of casteist practices which he encounters being within the *Namashudra* community. Two significant events of caste afflictions occur to Biswas; in one he takes part as an observer to share the experience of others and in another, he gains his own experience as a Dalit. Through these incidents, *Surviving in My World* makes space for an alternative co-existence of autobiography and autoethnography. In one of such incidents, Biswas remembers the typical behaviour of his people when addressed as lower caste *Namas*:

> 'YOU ARE ALL pork-eating *namas*!' Strangely, some of our people were extremely sensitive about the matter. Their sensitivity surprised me. When addressed as 'Pork-eating namas' they would get mad with anger. Those who ate pork and even those who did not got equally enraged! They would be convinced immediately that they were being abused. Even a round of fisticuffs to avenge the abuse was not surprising! (9)

Much later there is a description of one of the scintillating experiences of Biswas' post-partitioned life when the Dalit refugees have to leave their homelands. This, again, in spite of being a very personal memory builds a

connection with the memories of many others of his community; it can be the story of any Dalit refugee whom Biswas represents:

> After completing almost three months of classes, I received a letter from a friend who was staying at the Bagerhat hostel: 'You have got the highest marks in the ISc in this college. Your name is now on the national talent list. A notice has been put up in the college notice board that you should collect money by producing an identification letter from the head of the college where you're studying now.' Alas! Such was my fate! Money had been allotted in my name, but I had no right to withdraw it. This was because I was then a student of a college of West Bengal and my own country, my birthplace, had become a foreign land. (81)

With the progression of the narrative, the narrative handling of memories takes a reflective curve. Biswas reflects sadly: "In spite of having talent and intelligence these people remained unwanted in society because they lacked using the pen for tasks. They were transformed into the 'leftovers' of the society" (22). The autocratic narrative tone turns into plurivocal. The monologic 'I' of an autobiography becomes a polyphonic 'We' as Biswas participates in shared feelings. The alteration of voice(s) of 'I' and 'We' also occurs when he memorizes in a picturesque way: "I felt that we were living like a water hyacinth plant on this earth. Sometimes steady and unmoving in water, at other times playing about in flowing water in someone's rhythm" (71). Biswas mingles the action and contemplation of his self and his community in dialogue and performance. Here is where the self becomes a part of the community as much as the community becomes a part of the self. "Autoethnography benefits from the thought that self is an extension of a community rather it is an independent, self sufficient being, because the possibility of cultural self analysis rests on an understanding that self is part of a cultural community" (Chang 20). The intertwining relationship between community life and personal life nurtures the essence of an autoethnography. Biswas transforms life into one text where his auto-self is translated into ethno-selves and it becomes a text complex.

THE AUTHENTICITY OF REPRESENTATION IN *SURVIVING*: NARRATOR AND NARRATORIAL VOICE/S

According to Reed-Danahay auto/ethnography, "synthesizes both a postmodern ethnography, [with] the realist conventions and objective observer position of standard ethnography… and a postmodern autobiography, in which the notion of the coherent, individual self [have] been… called into question" (2). The narrative technique of autoethnography makes a bi-furcated amalgamation of the Narrating 'I' and the Narrated 'I'. Gerard Genette in his book *Narrative Discourse: an Essay in Method* (1980) has discussed the narratorial relationship with narratives. A 'Homodiegetic Narrator' is one who is a part of the story s/he is narrating, s/he may be one of the characters himself who commonly follows first-

person narrative technique. As this narrator remains inside the narrative, s/he may sometimes be called 'Intradiegetic Narrator' too. On the other hand, 'Heterodiegetic Narrator', as Genette points out, remains outside the story and while narrating adopts third-person narrative technique or omniscient narrator position. Provided s/he remains outside, s/he may also be termed as 'Extradiegetic Narrator'.

The narrative persona of autoethnographic narrative often fumbles between the narrator or narrating 'I' and narrated 'I' possessing two representational voices. Ellis (2004) claims that autoethnographers use the self to learn about the other (and themselves) by sharing voices, stories, and authority. "Using the vocal 'self' – the narrating 'I' – becomes a matter of ethics for autoethnographers; that is, becoming vulnerable, thinking with (rather than about) events from multiple perspectives and stories, and allowing what may have previously been silenced, voiced" (qtd. in Jackson and Mezzi 300).

Occasionally in *Surviving in My World*, the author supposedly remains sceptical and hence, the authenticity of observation becomes incredulous. In chapter 10 Biswas himself admits: "This part of the autobiography is not that of a dalit's in the true sense. It does not testify to my, or my community's struggle as a dalit. Nor is this account any matter of self-promotion" (78).

In a recent interview (June 11, 2018) Limbale sets the motive and purpose of autobiography: *Atmakatha ka adhar satya hota hai, atmakatha satya par tiki hai, asatya is me nehi hota hai* [The base of an autobiography is the truth, autobiography depends on the truth; there is no falsity here] (translation mine). The vulnerability of narrating the testimony (making alternative spaces for a homodiegetic-intradiegetic and a heterodiegetic-extradiegetic narrator) results in the vulnerability of readership. Together these things leave with the questions- What is the reader reading? Is it an autobiography, a testimonio or historiography? Very often this leads to a wrong judgment of a literary piece. A pertinent point has been drawn out by Srivastava:

> The problem of first person, and of the shifting boundaries between the author and the community they wish to represent, is compounded by a question of address. Who is the subaltern autobiography addressing? This is a bifurcated, even trifurcated readership, at times the Dalit reader, at times the savarna (upper caste) reader, and, at times, in the case of translated texts, the non-Indian reader (though Indian reader may also read such texts in translation. (116)

As a narrator becomes many narrators, his 'auto' voice is translated into 'ethno' voices and his identity gets merged into others. Sarah Beth presents an argument regarding the subject in Dalit autobiographies: "In fact, while discussing the 'representative' nature of the subject in Dalit autobiographies, it becomes important to look closely at instances in which the subject 'I' has difficulty representing the 'We', either of another Dalit individual or the Dalit community" (qtd. in Kumar 51). Dalit auto-narratives project a unique and an unforeseen view

of historical events, shreds of evidence, and experiences of neglect, oppression, suffering, and trauma of casteist politics. Emotions emerging from those often get overburdened which hinder the narrative following a linear, teleological unfolding of events; instead, those cause cinematic montages and cut-and-jump shots and flashbacks occasionally. There are such narrative nuances in *Surviving in My World* which foil the narrator-narrative audience relationship. It blurs the linear plotline. The narrative technique, to some extents, fails to construct the intriguing plot and a concrete storytelling technique. When the narrator himself becomes a character in the narrative he has to make a truce between 'fiction' and 'truth'. But again as an autoethnographer or an ethnographic researcher, he focuses on the relationship between the community and the self to conduct authentic research with social, cultural, and historical justice and consciousness. The flat descriptions of events and characters in some chapters, without any intertwined relation of self, complicate his position as the narrative authority, whether he is an autobiographer or an autoethnographer. Biswas says in a confessional tone: "I don't think I have been able to narrate my autobiography properly, which takes the form of the events of a few consecutive years of my childhood" (72). Between an observant and reflective researcher and an empirical suffering narrator, Biswas seems to fumble; his narratorial voice cannot keep pace with the objective movements of history and that gives vent to occasional narrative ruptures. Sometimes, emotion overshadows the ability of contemplation and investigating inquisitiveness. Thus, the politics of emotion investment fails to retrieve the pent-up history while representing a loose, sporadic, and ruptured history instead.

Reading Manohar Mouli Biswas' autobiography as an autoethnography provides scope for an alternative interpretation and evaluation of a Dalit autobiography. It creates a distinct space where a Dalit autobiographer becomes an insider-outsider researcher; he not only makes a careful examination of the struggling sustenance and survival strategies of his self and community but also interprets and analyses the attributes of culture, society, and history revolving around the self and the community with minute empirical and objective observation and intertwined subjective embodiment of emotions. The monologic 'I' of the auto-self gets transformed into the polyphonic 'we' of ethno-selves and individual memory becomes collective memory. Although Biswas' contrapuntal voice causes occasional narrative ruptures and puts the authenticity of the narrative voice into question, as an autoethnography, it throws a challenge to "the accepted views of silent authorship, where the researcher's voice is not included in the presentation of findings" (Holt 2). As a literary autoethnography *Surviving in My World: Growing Up Dalit in Bengal* contains research possibility and contribution on part of the narrative audience, critics, and readers to investigate the alliance between creative aestheticism, subaltern historiography, and ethnographic attributes in the genre of Dalit life writing.

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INDIAN HIJRAS: SEXUALITY, THEATRICALITY, AND COUNTER-NARRATIVE

DARIA IOAN

ABSTRACT

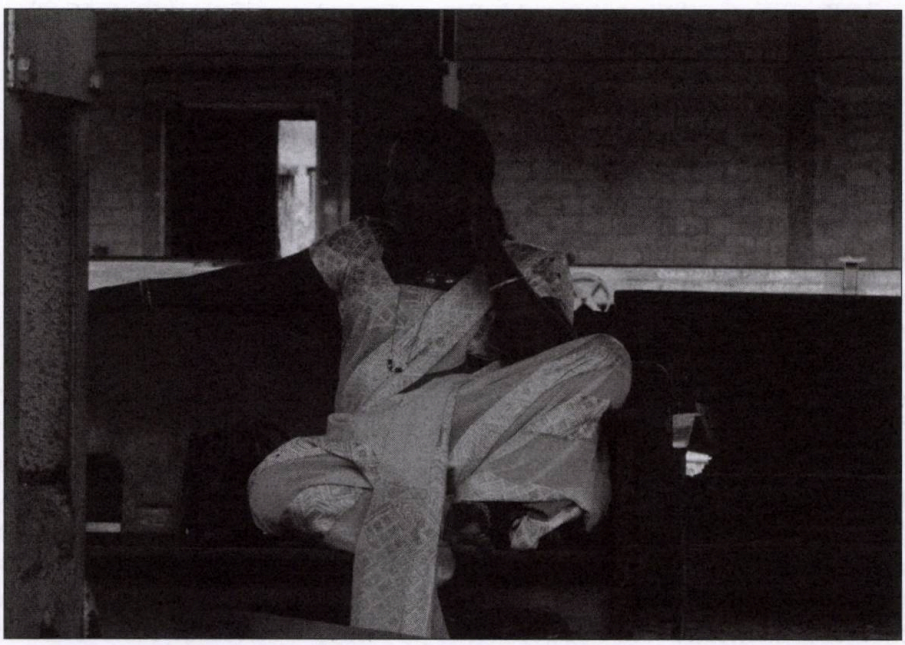
This paper examines the hijras of India and the use they make of a large theatrical display in their lifestyle, enabling a critical function of social performativity. Hermaphrodites, eunuchs and transgenders speaking a secret language, they are officially recognized as the third sex. Their communities are the keepers of an ancient culture of the performance, in which crossdressing, farce and superstitions' speculation build and hold fast to a subversive sex politics and counter-narrative face to the social ruling system. By analysing the cultural patrimony they claim, as well as the connections and ellipses between them and the theatre world, we discuss the functioning mode of their self-constructed and preserved identity, secluded and yet in contact with the rest of the society.

Keywords: transvestism, subversion, farce, theatricality, performance, counter-narrative, sexuality, queering, sex politics.

The *hijras* or *kotis* represent and are officially recognized as the third sex in the Indian subcontinent. In India and generally in South-Asia, they speak a language of their own, called *Hijra Farsi*, as a secret language opposed to a mother tongue. They call themselves she-males and they live in communities structured in households, which have each their own specific rules and conduct codes. These households are ruled by *gurus* who initiate, protect and demand obedience from their followers, called *chelas*. The hijras are mainly hermaphrodites or eunuchs, transgender and intersex people, even if wider approaches of the term can also include impotent males or females[1]. Many of them undergo an emasculation operation called *nirvan* and a complex process that leads to effeminacy. This physical operation is nevertheless not mandatory in all cases; some of them have wives and children, only partially dedicating themselves to the hijra specific

[1] Mal 2018: 80-81.

activities and way of living. As they define themselves as being nor men or women, their social status is a very particular one. In order to permanently reaffirm their sexual identity, the hijras surround themselves by a series of dramatic means of expression, which allow them to be recognized as such and, at the same time, to maintain an open communication space with the rest of the society. Elements like crossdressing, disguise, farce, masquerade, a secret language, everyday street performance and permanent role playing ensure their public visibility and maintain the superstitious traditional beliefs which impose that their presence should be a must during certain ceremonies, as weddings, baptisms, in exchange of their blessings. The hijras are also involved in various religious performing rituals, where they impersonate dual hypostasis of the gods and other characters depending on the specific story in the celebrations. Their insightful use of transvestism and gender staging recommends them in a great number of drama related events, but it also represents the living image of a counter-narrative in the context of any ruling systems India has known. The carnivalesque explosion of colours, music and living theatre surrounding the hijras, anchored in deep tradition, expresses also the resistance of an evolving minority in the many sided India's cultural big picture.



Hijra in Margao railstation (Goa, 2017)[2]

In her article "Theatrical transvestism in the Parsi, Gujarati and Marathi theatres (1850-1940)", Katherine Hansen points at the impact that crossdressing

[2] All photos were taken by the author.

and gender masquerade in theatre granted a complex evolution of the way gender could be perceived:

> the operations of female impersonation within the reforming, educative program of the late nineteenth-century Parsi theatre also complicated the viewing of the male body and the construction of masculine subjectivity. For men as well as women, performances of cross-dressing opened up an arena in which gender could be articulated in complicated ways. I propose that transgender masquerade, in addition to renewing a pre-existing culture of homosociality within the context of reconstituted urban public, introduced new possibilities for homoerotic pleasure and expression. As in the construction of the heteronormative roles, these possibilities were predicated on exchanging devalued, "traditional" ways of encoding gender difference, or more accurately gender ambiguity, for esteemed, updated, "modern" ones.[3]

Hansen observes that the theatrical subculture of homosexuality is very old in India as it can be found mentioned in *Kama Sutra*, but also in China and Japan.

> A few scattered accounts confirm the general impression that in India, as in China and Japan, the theatrical subculture afforded a space for homosexual inclinations and practices. Madhavacarya, the author of a Hindi commentary on the *Kama Sutra,* asserts that theatre personnel were known for their proclivity for oral sex with other men. [...] Theatre histories also report that actor-managers had their favourite "boys". Female impersonators were called by female kinship terms as well as by proper and pet female names.[4]

However, if we take a look at the theatre evolution in India during the colonial period as traced by Hansen, we discover that female impersonators were progressively pushed away from the stage, as a new moral code had to be introduced to the Indian society. At the same it appears interesting to mention the observation made by Durba Mitra in her book *Indian Sex Life: Sexuality and the Colonial Origins of Social Modern Thoughts*, who first encountered the category of "prostitute" as she began research in an archive of colonial eastern India from the 1880s[5]. On one side, subversive images of the homoerotism were banned from theatre and, on the other side, a new term was found to define the nature and implications of libertine practices in general. The theatre staff always being susceptible of immoral habits, the stage suffered a purging in the colonial times. There were exceptions nevertheless and their existence led to other particular phenomena in theatre and society. After a while, a series of male effeminate images became tolerable, but they were strictly related to the economic and social status of the public they addressed and reflected.

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[3] Hansen 2001: 66.
[4] Hansen 2001: 72.
[5] Mitra 2020: 4.

> The display of overt sexuality was replaced by an elaborate code of modesty, propriety, and respectability that identified the New Woman in heteronormative terms. But equally they positioned the homoerotic gaze toward a refined, transgendered performer who aroused a different kind of desire.[6]

At the same time, the criminalized hijras continued to play their counterpart in the colonial complex context, as their culture has always presented a performative component in almost all aspects; particularly, transvestism used as sex politics, as social defence strategy, as a means of survival and obviously as a powerful visibility factor. From this perspective, crossdressing can be seen as the expression of their minority's resistance movement. Thus, other layers of dramatization certainly accompany the carnivalesque images of the hijras, allowing them to play with a large spectrum of cultural elements. Meshing with mythological occurrences as well as with the superstitious and magical discourse represents one of these. In order to understand their image construction, it is important to focus on the background they claim.

In the Hindu mythology every god and goddess have a hermaphrodite aspect. The presence of ambiguity and its avatars is important for this representation of the world. The ambiguity between sexes is often related, in Hindu mythology, to an undifferentiated aspect of various gods symbolizing the perfect balance between the masculine side and the feminine side. Representations of androgyny are to be found seldom in architectural pieces or ensembles, as for example a number of figures in the Khajuraho temples in Madhya Pradesh (built between 950 and 1050 AD by the Chandela dynasty, as a synthesis between Hinduism and Jainism). In her book *With respect to sex. Negotiating hijra identity in South India*, Gayatri Reddy emphasizes this aspect:

> [...] hijras articulate their affinity with divine figures such as Siva, especially in his *ardhanarisvara* (half man/half woman) form, and the Pandava brother Arjunain his disguise as Brhannala, the dance teacher/eunuch in the court of king Virata [...] "Arjuna is a eunuch who presides over marriage and birth" [...] "when eunuchs dance and sing at births and weddings, they mark by their presence the ambiguity of those moments where the non-differentiation of the male and the female is filled with promise and uncertainty: the mystery that surrounds the sexual identity of the still unborn child, and in that which anticipates the re-union of the male and the female in marital sex".[7]

The hijras are devoted to the goddess Bahuchara Mata, who protects those who survive the emasculation operation. She is the goddess of chastity and fertility in her maiden aspect and the incarnation of the Mother aspect of Shakti

[6] Hansen 2001: 66.
[7] Reddy 2005: 89-90.

(personification of creative energy). The goddess herself is believed to have performed a self-mutilation act by cutting off one of her breasts and offering it to assaulting thieves instead of her body.

By mixing this mythologic background to their main occupations, the hijras define their identity status and claim their place in the society. Reddy observes that the construct of their individual selves and that of the hijra institution rely on the tension between three major tendencies:

> First, hijras liken themselves to sannyasis, or ascetics, figures who are clearly ubiquitous and central to much of the Vedic and post-Vedic literature. Second, the tension between ascetism and eroticism or *tapas/kama*, which plays out in hijras lives as the tension between badhai hijras and kandra hijras [...] Third, hijras invoke non-differentiated images such as ardhanarisvara form of Siva, Arjuna as Brahnnala, Sikhandi and Vishnu as Mohini both to legitimize their gender-ambiguous form and to validate their occupation of singing and dancing at festive and liminal occasions.[8]

The hijras who practice dance and singing at the above-mentioned occasions are called *badhai* while *kandra* hijras are those who practice prostitution. Both aspects are claimed as legitimizing the hijra status and importance in society and religious life. The double valence makes the hijra communities' members a complex social group that floats like an island in the Indian culture. The ones who live out of sexual work are to be found all over the subcontinent in trains or by the railway stations, parcs, markets or other crowded places where they can draw public attention. People usually take notice of their presence because of them clapping hands or exposing amputated genitals. The sound of hand clapping can be used in various ways, as a sign for the others to pay attention or to be aware of their curse. In trains, Indians are used to their apparitions but everybody offers them money just to be left in peace. Hijras climb up on the trains in random railway stations and touch only men on their shoulder to ask for money. They usually get paid to go away and not to do harm by their evil eye. At the opposite pole of the blessing badhai, the kandra can cast infertility on men. When they also lift their sari, the impact of such a sight can be even violent to Indian people, who are known for their prudery. But the fear of the hijra curses is often unjustified, as long as they are said to have this kind of power only if they keep the ascetic way of life.

[8] Reddy 2005: 91.

Hijra performing at a temple celebration in (Munnar, Kerala, 2019)

The hijra codes prescribe that those of them who practice prostitution should be exempted of any supernatural gift. They are not under the protection of the goddess Bahuchara Mata, even if they might claim it. In India, some hijras obviously abandoned the ascetic way of life and take advantage of the opposite image they can claim. There is a controversy even in their communities whether they are authentic or not, by birth or surgical operation (*nirvan*), impotent by nature or by human intervention. *Kada-catla koti* hijras (*paonbattawala*, which is ostensibly "heterosexual" non sari wearing men), who don't belong to any household and don't follow any guru, can be married not only to men, but even to women. Another important matter in the hijra world is the amount of *izzat* each one of them has. Among common people, *kada-catla* have more izzat because they dress and live like men. But among the *kotis* (hijras) those who wear women clothes and act like them have more of it. The term *izzat* could be translated as power, respect or even value inside their communities.

> Female attire (saris in context) serves as a marker of (public) recognition, and for the hijras it is the quintessential symbol of izzat. Those who are "out" on this scale of sartorial identity (like hijras) might be more stigmatized by the wider community, but they have greater respect within their community precisely because of sartorial practices. […] Moreover, this symbol of difference apparently distinguishes hijras, in their conceptualizations, from zenanas to kada-catla kotis. […] In hijra terms, this [wearing saris] was the single most important marker of difference among kotis, in addition to the *nirvan* operation and *rit*.[9]

[9] Reddy 2005: 131.

The *rit* is a ceremony payed by the aspiring hijra to the guru of the household he desires to be part of. During this ritual, he receives a new name and declares his wish to be protected and guided by the guru. Consequently, he becomes this one's *chela* (disciple). Once accepted in one household, the new hijra has many rules to follow, among which: not to use any razor blades instead of plucking facial hair, not to have their hair cut, not to wear pants, not to be seen with beard and the obligation of using women make up, jewellery and the sari and bleach his face. This ritual is performed before the emasculation operation, which the hijras may undergo even without the guru's consent. In such a case, they may be victims of the guru's abuse, most of the time inflicting conflicts at the core of the household's structure. But paradoxically they can have the guru's consent and help, depending on their personal relationship. They acquire more izzat by undergoing the *nirvan* operation, but because of this they may provoke animosities inside the group.

> Today, more so than in the past, it is necessary to perform this operation in secret, because under Indian penal code emasculation is a criminal offence. [...] This may be so because criminalizing emasculation made it more valuable, and hence more sacred, in the eyes of the hijras. [...] Next, the prospective nirvan (the one who is operated on) is asked, by his dai ma, to look at the picture of Mata. The operation is deemed to succeed if Mata appears to be smiling or laughing. If the first omen has been positive, it must be followed by the second, in which a coconut broken by the dai ma must break evenly in half. If it breaks unevenly, the omen is deemed to be negative and the operation cannot take place. [...] while the new initiate's life hangs by a thread, the dai ma's assistant buries the severed genitals in the earth, next to a living tree.[10]

The operation can be accomplished traditionally with the help of a hijra *daiamma* (a sort of midwife) or a medical doctor. For the hijras, the first one is considered more respectable than an operation performed illegally by a doctor. So automatically the hijra who undergoes it will be believed to have more *izzat*.

> [...] the *rit* was mentioned as a marker of difference and izzat. Those who had a rit in a hijra house, were perceived to be of higher status than those who did not. The rit not only denoted membership in the wider community of hijras but also hierarchised kotis along this axis of kinship. Those kotis who had the *rit* in the house were official kin, while "*bina ritwale*", or those without *rit*, were technically not kin. While this did not preclude the latter from identifying as kotis, as non-hijras, it placed them lower in the hierarchy of respect of izzat.[11]

The amount of izzat is connected to the symbolic value attributed to the blessing rituals they perform at weddings and births; and, as a consequence, the power of the hijra curses has also to do with their izzat. So, this concept is one

[10] Nekrassovski 2011.
[11] Reddy 2005: 144.

of major importance for the life of hijras, given that it influences their performative force. The izzat can be augmented by a number of practices, among which that of getting closer and closer to the feminine look. For this reason, hijras not only wear women's attire, but also use hormones to transform their bodies, by growing their breasts and sometimes undergoing vaginal construction after the nirvan operation. Nowadays they have increased possibilities of shaping female-like physical traits:

> Almost all hijras [...] inject or ingest female hormones in order to develop a *chati* (*bosom*) [breasts]. The most common of these hormonal products are oral contraceptives for women, commonly referred to as "Sunday-Monday golis" which are sold across the counter in all pharmacies. [...] Perhaps more deleterious to their health than this unrestricted use of oral contraceptives is hijras recent habit of injecting themselves with estrogen and progesteron concentrates, bought illegally from the local pharmacies.[12]

Is seems that the radical body transformation hijra operate on themselves by cutting off their genitals is continued by another chain of methods used to achieve the female look. However, the feminized image of themselves they consciously build has more to do with staging femininity than actually truthfully copying it and living it. The gender enactment hijras perform has to do with a high level of theatricality. This aspect of their lives is one of great importance, since they make a living out of it.

> Hijras who earned a living performing at marriages and childbirth were the elite of their community. Although they also worked very hard, they were better rewarded financially and gained status within the Hijra community for earning a living in this traditional manner, rather than by practicing prostitution or eking out a living begging for alms. [...] Hijras can also come as an invitee to one's home, and their wages can be very high for the services they perform. Supposedly, they can give insight into the future events as well bestow blessings for health. Hijras that perform these services can make a very good living if they work for the upper classes.[13]

Many hijras across the Indian subcontinent act in moving theatres, often playing roles that involve the mocked image of women. But it is not only on stages that they can be seen playing gender parodies. They circulate in many other public spaces, usually in groups that stand out in relief by using theatrical methods. They are intrinsically bound to the performance, as they use it in almost all contexts, mostly with the aim of earning money out of it.

> They inhabit spaces openly, often drawing attention to them with loud speech and hand gestures, including their unique hand clap, Hijras also adopt male patterns of speech. Replica smile on their face, adorn themselves with kajal, makeup, lipstick, dressed in multicolored saris, in a horrible parody of women

[12] Reddy 2005: 132-133.
[13] Mal 2018: 82-83.

> in a unique style, they roam the busy market places in groups for their income.[14]

The hijras can perform at various types of celebrations, even religious ones, where they obviously interpret feminine roles that are required in the ritualic performances. We can observe such a group in the image below, where they take part in a temple celebration in Munnar. The main figure is dressed in a costume that expresses the androgenic figure of Shiva-Parvati. The makeup and decorations split the actor's body in two symmetric opposite parts of the same divine structure.

Hijras performing at a temple celebration in (Munnar, Kerala, 2019)

For the hijras to take part in celebrations is not necessarily a matter of dedication. Whether it comes to weddings, births or to complex religious events which may include them, they are often considered not to have any real connection the traditional dances rituals they engage to perform in these occasions. Even if the hijras are show people, many times they are not trained by their gurus to properly attend the ceremonies, so they improvise dances and songs. Gayatry Reddy relates that during the Hindu festival of Dussehra, the hijras she was writing about in her book invited her to their village to proof they knew to perform the rituals.

> Here, as a "proof" of their statements, the whole group put on a performance wherein they enacted a badhai scene, from the moment a household was marked for a new-born child to the final payment of the badhai at the end of their performance. At the end of this "play", although it was evident that almost none of the hijra actors knew any of the songs and did not know what to do or say, Munira turned triumphantly to me and said, "This is what we do for a living".[15]

[14] Mal 2018: 81.
[15] Reddy 2005: 81-82.

From the etymological perspective, the word hijra, "-hjr" derives from the Arabic root and refers to "leaving one's tribe", as we can read in Ankush Gupta's article "Trans-lating the Hijra Identity: Performance Culture as Politics". Being different mainly by sexual orientation, the hijras take distance from their families and native environments and end up joining the bigger communities of their kind. This separation can be self-chosen or, in other cases, they may be violently banned on the reason of their so-called sexual compulsion. Their inner journey and construction of the new self has therefore a traumatic beginning, in most cases. Gupta also remarks that these people were even criminalized during the colonial era:

> In 1871 Hijras were included as dangerous outlaws in the Criminal Tribes Act, stemming from a belief that they were involved in kidnapping and castrating children, and that they dressed like women in order to sing and dance in public places. The punishment for such activities was up to two years' imprisonment, a fine or both. Hijras were thus banned from 'migrating' to any other place and ended up creating colonies of their own wherever they stayed, following complex structures of community guidelines and hierarchies, still not identified within the 'legal' structure of India (like many other 'deviant' communities).[16]

The European sense of the normal and of the abnormal was applied to a vast cultural territory, casting a dark shadow on the hijras. In her article "Obscenity, Moral Contagion and Masculinity: Hijras in Public Space in Colonial North India", Jessica Hinchy describes the colonial perception and the categories that derived from it.

> Colonized men were characterized as inherently inferior, but were differentiated through a hierarchy on manliness that distinguished "martial tribes", such as Sikhs, Pathans and Muslims, from "effeminate races", such as Bengalis. […] Interestingly, homosexuality was usually associated in colonial discourse with the "martial races", not with the "effeminate" Bengalis. Yet the colonizers perceived the figure of the hijra as effeminate, sexually "deviant" and "impotent" – as a figure of failed masculinity.[17]

In "Politics of Penetration", Suparna Bhaskaran points at the impact purity campaigns had over nonprocreative sexual communities during the same period.

> In the second half of the nineteenth century, debates around sexual behavior in Britain travelled to India. Christian and feminist "purity campaigns" in the metropole targeted many forms of nonprocreative sexual activity. Their opposition to brothels, primarily frequented by married men, led to the Contagious Diseases Act of the 1860s that ended state-regulated brothels in England. In the 1880s, lalbazaars began facing criticism and were officially suspended in 1888. These campaigns exported categories of manliness and

[16] Gupta 2019: 71.
[17] Hinchy 2017: 230.

> womanliness wherein the *pukka sahib* and *memsahib* and their projected brown counterparts were to maintain a fiscal imperial polity and economy free of common vices such as prostitution and "special Oriental vices" such as homosexual activity.[18]

In response to an aggressive Western moral politics, some other tendencies in India touched nationalism, by cultivating a special kind of autochthonous male type, deriving from the image of Ram and that of Hanuman, in which prevailed the traits of an almost supernatural physical strength. This was another alternative kind of counter-narrative that opposed the English invasive rhetoric. But this sort of resistance for the traditional Indian cultural values did not include the hijra communities.

In fact, isolation from the rest of the society remains an important constant in the life of a hijra. It is mainly this seclusion that allows them to stage almost every aspect of their life and make use of countless glamorous details which compose a reversed image of the mainstream society.

Hijra performing at a temple celebration in (Munnar, Kerala, 2019)

The uniqueness of being sexless is also reflected by mythological sources, proving that the hijras were culturally valued before the English ruling system was imposed in India. Their recorded history from Antiquity allows us to trace the variations of their status.

In "The Hijras of India: Cultural and Individual Dimensions of an Institutionalized Third Gender Role", Serena Nanda refers to the episode where the hijras were summoned by Ram as men and women and didn't react to his call. They proved to him instead an impeccable loyalty.

> Ram had to leave Ayodhya (his native city) and go into the forest for 14 years. As he was going, the whole city followed him, because they loved him so. As Ram came to…the edge of the forest, Ram turned to the people and said, "Ladies and gents, please wipe your tears and go away". But these people who

[18] Bhaskaran 2002: 17.

> were not men and not women did not know what to do. So they stayed there because Ram did not ask them to go. They remained there 14 years and snake hills grew around them. When Ram returned from Lanka, he found many snake hills. Not knowing why they were there, he removed them and found so many people with long beards and long nails, all meditating. And so they were blessed by Ram.[19]

This is one of the commonly told stories amidst hijra communities, certifying their cultural importance and inheritance. However, the physical status of the Hijras is not clearly defined in this legendary occurrence. It is not obvious that they are hermaphrodites or impotent men or both. In her research on the matter, Nanda provides a present example of a hijra who claims to have been born that way, inevitably and irredeemably separated from the other normal people:

> From my childhood I was like this. From birth my organ was very small. My brothers tried taking me to the doctors [...] but the doctors said "no, it won't grow, your child is not a man and not a woman, this is God's gift [...] From that time my mother would dress me in girl's clothes. But then she saw it was no use, so she sent me with the *hijras*. I am a real *hijra*, not like those others who are converts; they are men and can have children, so they have the (emasculation) operation, but I was born this way.[20]

Hijras can be received in their communities on the strength of the reason that they are born men with a physical sexual disfunction but they can also enter the same circles if they are hermaphrodites or converts, meaning men who willingly give up their reproductive function and role in society and choose to follow a guru of one hijra house and be part of that community and respect its rules and assessments, as a path of no turning back. The authenticity of the hijras has often fallen under the incidence of controversies. Generally, they share a mixed aspect which gathers male and female features under a sort of synthetic theatrical character, but there are differences under the unifying exterior look. The encounter between the two sexes in the various images that perpetuate neutrality and otherness are related to godlike representations.

> In yet another famous myth, during the great war of Kurukshetra (Mahabharata), the most brave and powerful warriors of the Pandava clan Arjun dressed as and became a woman in appearance called Brihannada (Hiltebeitel 1980: 154; Sharma 1984: 384; Nanda 1999: 30-1). As Brihannada, he participated in the wedding ceremony of his son Abhimanyu with the princess Uttara (Hiltebeitel 1980: 166). It must be pointed out that Arjun's cross-dressing is read by almost all hijras as an instance of voluntary emasculation that opens up avenues of immaculate physical strength.[21]

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[19] Nanda 2007: 238.
[20] Nanda 2007: 239.
[21] Bakshi 2004: 214.

Among other wonders related to emasculation in the Indian myths revendicated by hijras, here we find the aspect of a human warrior, which is not so common in their stories. While being a "real" hijra by birth implies a deficit of the sexual functions, the myth above invokes "immaculate physical strength", which is commonly associated with masculinity, rather than with femininity. There are other examples where emasculation is related to physical increased capacities, even if, paradoxically, the protagonists are in fact taking over the traits of the so called "weak sex". The sacrifice is generally followed by a display of benefits and the renouncement to one's procreative functions, even at a symbolic level, like in the legend about the warrior Arjun, can attract divine gifts and blessings, especially in the context of a wedding, complex ritual and significations network. However, the hijra interpretation of Arjun's disguise as a sign of body strength may imply the ascetic way (*Tapasya*) which can result in a physical shape superior to that of common people.

In Hindu mythology, God Shiva performed an auto-mutilation by self-castration, after Brahma had already accomplished the act of creation and accordingly Shiva's phallus (*linga*) was no longer necessary for it. The renouncement to his masculine physical power involves the myth of creative ascetism. Fertility became the result of such renouncement and the worshipping of Shiva's genital organ which was thrown on the earth is common to a great number of Hindu holy places. In another legend, in Hyderabad, an action similar to Shiva's is performed by a hijra who brings the rain at the monarch's demand. The phallus fallen on the ground has an immediate effect and the rain is allowed by the gods to fall and end a severe drought.

> Once during the Nizam's[22] rule, there was a big drought in Hyderabad, there was no water at all, and the people were dying. The Nizam did not know what to do. Finally, he went to the hijras and told them that it was in their hands to save the city. The Nizam had come to them and asked for their help. So, breaking a thorn from a plant nearby, one of the hijras cut off her organ (penis) and made herself *nirvan*. Then she threw the organ on the ground, and the minute it touched the ground, there was rain.[23]

The sacrifice engenders sacred powers to the hijras who are capable of making it, so they are solicited to use them for the benefit of the whole community. In many legends and oral stories, the hijras' creative ascetism represents a solution to problems of various kinds. In the example above, the sacred gesture of *nirvan* will make the land flourish and will bring back the balance in the realm of Hyderabad. It is interesting that in this legend the hijra is referred to by the feminine pronouns: "she", "her" and "herself" even before cutting of his penis with the thorn, meaning before the initiation ritual, while he

[22] The Nizams were the 18th through 20th centuries rulers of Hyderabad.
[23] Reddy 2005: 97.

was still a man. This could mean that the physical appearance of this hijra was already of effeminate nature and that he was perceived as a she before sacrificing his masculinity.

By giving up the capacity of engendering life, a strange power of conferring fertility to the others or to the earth appears in the perspective of this symbolic death. Hijras are believed to have this power once they survive the emasculation operation and they are invited to participate in wedding and new born baby blessing ceremonies all over India.

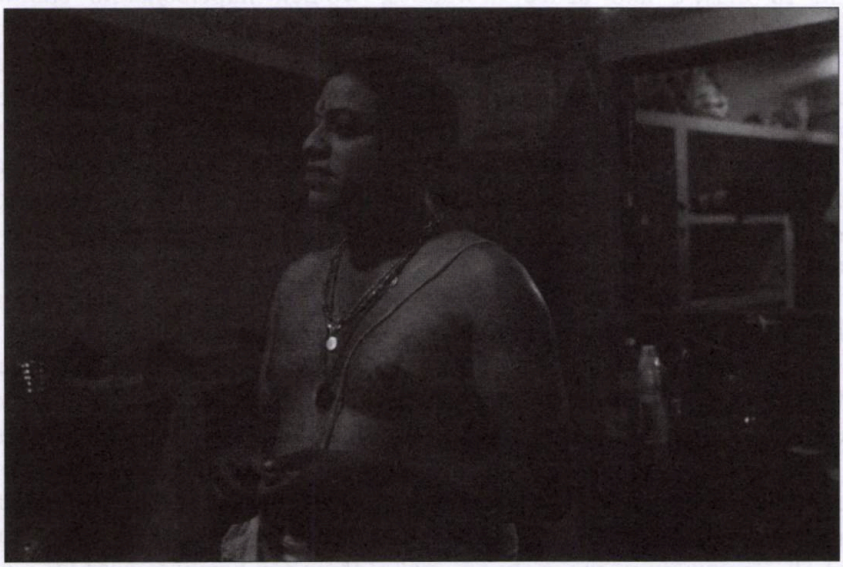
> This theme provides one explanation of the positive role given the Hijras in Indian society. Born intersexed and impotent, unable themselves to reproduce, hijras can, through the emasculation operation, transform their liability into a source of creative power which enables them to confer blessings of fertility on others.[24]

The hijras' use of the mythical patronage is an important piece of their self-constructed image and preserved image. It keeps them functioning in the society and offers them a certain degree of protection from different forms of aggression, as generally people keep away from those who are believed to have the gods' consent. In theatre and dance nowadays, women impersonators continue to maintain the connection to myths as they perform god characters on stage. In rural India, transvestism still offers pleasure to a large audience, but it is rather used in the farce-like representations of domestic life. Shayok Mukhopadhyay's feature-length documentary *Gautam & Buddha* offers an insight into the life of a group of hijras who earn their living by acting in a moving theatre in a village area of West Bengal. Best friends Gautam and Buddha are the stars of The New Conquerors, an all-male travelling theatre. While Buddha is openly gay, Gautam has a wife and a son back in the village. Exploring the relationship between the two, the director offers a nuanced vision of homo-eroticism and introduces the audience in the complex double life of a mixed hijra and non-hijra community.

In institutionalized traditional theatres, the crossdressing is not connected though with any homo-erotic tendencies and continues to be part of the representation of mythical events and storytelling. In Kathakali dance, in Kerala's small and bigger theatres, men wearing female costumes and wigs are present from the beginning of this sort of performance's tradition, institutionalized during the 16th and the 17th centuries. The reasons are multiple, but mainly of a practical sort. First of all, the weight of the costumes makes them too heavy to bear for women's body. Another justification dancers mention is the holy character of the celebrations where Kathakali dance is performed during religious Hindu celebrations, which makes it impossible for women who have their menstruation to take part in such contexts. The resulting figures have both feminine and masculine looks. In the picture below, taken during my interview with Venu, a 40-year-old

[24] Nanda 2007: 239-240.

Kathakali dancer from Fort Kochi, Kerala, the feminine attire is obvious. He nevertheless explained that this type of dance is a manner of living and it involves a lot of feminine care of the body, but it has nothing to do with the hijras. Apart of being a dancer in the small theatre, Venu declared himself to be a loving husband and the father of three children. Kathakali dance needs a lot of commitment and influences even the dancer's private life, as a physical preparation is required to be executed each morning at dawn, after waking up. Venu practiced everyday the mudras, the eye and the body movements he would later use in his role interpretation in the evening shows on the stage. It takes years to learn Kathakali and only men can traditionally perform it. Some of the painted faces and costumes, the women like characters can be confusing for an outsider's look, as they resemble the characters interpreted by hijras in religious celebrations. The performances are however impossible to compare, as hijras are not professional dancers and a great number of them don't even know the dances and the songs they have to sing during the celebrations. This is why their acting is often a sum of improvisations. When I asked Venu about them, he ironically underlined the lack of connection between Kathakali dancers and the hijras and even suggested he was personally not fond of them at all.



Venu, Kathakali dancer (Fort Kochi Theatre, 2019)

It is interesting to remark that actors and dancers who frequently manipulate crossdressing on stage in order to perform different roles do not sympathise with the hijras who use a similar clothing arsenal in daily life. Impersonating sexually ambiguous figures within institutionalized forms of theatre is an official job many of them do not wish to compromise by associating themselves with the third sex.

The counter-narrative of transgender people remains parallel to the accepted forms of stipulating crossdressing. For Kathakali male actors, the femininized imagery is part of a long tradition which didn't allow, until a certain point, women on stage. Nowadays these restrictions are not actual anymore, but even if women are playing some theatrical roles, in 80% of the cases, the feminine characters are still interpreted by men, as one can see in the picture below.

Kathakali dancers during performance (Fort Kochi Theatre, 2019)

The hijras do not find a place in traditional theatre forms such as Kathakali, where the relationship between men and women characters has a classic approach. Even if the roles are interpreted by men, the feminine vision is not distorted in any way and no reference to the third sex is made.

For the hijras, the main stage still remains the street and other public spaces with no connection to the theatre world. They speculate the relation they have with mythology and they perform rituals without relying on a solid guide of practices. Common superstitions and beliefs keep going their participation in religious and non-religious celebrations. Recently they gained popularity in some Bollywood productions where they can reveal their nature and also act as hijras.

Thee hijra sexual minority can be seen as a living patrimony for the Indian culture and it is being preserved by making use of a complex theatrical display, which can be associated but not superimposed entirely to the traditional dramatic genres. However, the multiple ways in which the hijras build their identity and lifestyle pay all, as we could observe, a great tribute to performance. The particularity of their communities resides in the fact that they perform performance, they interpret interpretation. There is a higher degree of theatricality in the hijra secret societies when they choose to reveal themselves to the public eye. A permanent distance is being maintained with the ruling society through the agency of their private language and codes which are

reiterated in order to maintain a self-protective counter-discourse, as their existence itself is daily depending on it[25].

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LESSONS FROM THE MARGINS: ROMA HIDDEN IDENTITY POLITICS AND SOCIAL DISTANCE MANAGEMENT

ISIDORA JARIC

ABSTRACT

The research presented in this paper seeks to explore, identify and map, within the respondents' narratives, the hidden strategies used by the members of Roma ethnic community for overcoming the frustrating social setting of (forced and/or voluntary) social distancing. These strategies are, anti-intuitively, understood in our research as hidden potential/specific forms of socio-cultural capital, induced by the socio-historical subcultural experience of this ethnic community, with significant transformative potential. Adequate political articulation and proper social support could contribute to the transformation of this potential into tools for empowering Roma ethnic community and to its structural repositioning within the existing societal context of Serbian society. Empirical material was collected through 60 semi-structured in-depth interviews with Roma citizens, conducted in all four geographical-administrative areas of Serbia: (a) Vojvodina, (b) Belgrade region, (c) Sumadija and western Serbia, and (d) southern and eastern Serbia. The research sample was stratified according to: the geographical area in which the respondents live, the type of settlement (urban or rural), gender and age of the respondents. One third of the interviews from the sample were conducted with Roma respondents that were recognized by the members of Roma community as outstanding and/or successful individuals who overcame structural challenges in their personal lives. With reference to the narrative structure of respondents, the analysis identified five most frequent *positive* identity markers (nonviolence, non-vengefulness, solidarity, family cohesion, openness to other cultures), and the three most frequent *negative* identity markers (emphasized patriarchy, experience of social isolation and shame on the basis of ethnic origin). These specified identity markers could be interpreted as possible hidden potentials which if relocated to other fields of society, would enable members of the Roma ethnic community to improve their personal and collective structural position within the wider social system, but also as frustrating mechanisms that emphasize the element of isolation and

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prevent members of Roma ethnic community from integrating into the wider social system. Paradoxically, respondents perceive both identity markers as important elements of their own ethnic identity.
Keywords: Roma, Serbia, ethnic community, identity, social distance.

IDENTITY POLITICS: IN SEARCH OF A RECOGNITION

In theory and practice of politics, the term *identity politics* is frequently used to describe a wide range of political activities practiced by the groups and their members who share different experiences of injustice. In this paper, identity politics is operationalized and understood as a mode of political organization of the oppressed social groups who refuse to internalize "the negative scripts" (Heyes, 2020) offered by a hegemonic culture about their inferiority. In this particular case, the research will deal with Roma community which according to a wide consensus, represents one of the most marginalized groups in Europe, facing deep social problems and wide-ranging discrimination, all of which are interrelated and create a vicious circle of social exclusion (McGarry, 2017).

The oppressed groups seek to transform the hegemonic perception of their community and its members' sense of self, through the political act of creating "the identity… characterized by an emphasis on its inner voice and capacity for *authenticity* – that is, the ability to find a way of being that is somehow true to oneself" (Taylor, 1994). This double struggle for *recognition* (on the level of outsiders' communities and communal and individual *self*) empowers the oppressed (on both individual and collective plan) to use *identity* "as a tool to frame political claims, promote political ideologies, or stimulate and orient social and political action" (Neofotistos, 2013) in order to transform social structures that generate injustice, and possibly offer a vision of new authentic and self-determined alternative.

However, the recognition of the particular social group's authenticity is a process that includes: (a) the production of "a wealth of *new evidence* (underline by author) previously ignored" that should provide a cultural insight into "dimensions of human life and activity usually deemed unworthy of mention in conventional histories" (Scott, 1992: 24), and (b) the invention and articulation of the *new narratives* (underline by author) that will recognize fragments of these new evidence as integral parts of the new narrative, for the reason that, as Joan Scott shrewdly noticed, in science evidence "only counts as evidence" if it is "recognized as such in relation to a potential narrative" (Scott, 1992: 24). Only in that way it is possible to provide "evidence for a world of alternative values and practices whose existence gives the lie to hegemonic constructions of social worlds" (Scott, 1992: 24).

Taking into account the aforementioned, this research should be understood as a quest for the new evidence about Roma inner voice and (individual and communal) auto-perceptions about their capacity for authenticity, which can be

used as a substance for construction of the new empowering narrative able to challenge and change present cultural hegemony.

METHOD AND SAMPLE

The research to be presented here is based on the empirical material collected from the semi-structured in-depth interviews conducted in four geographical-administrative areas of the Republic of Serbia: (a) Vojvodina, (b) Belgrade region, (c) Sumadija and western Serbia and (d) southern and eastern Serbia.

The research sample was stratified in relation to: the geographical area in which the respondents live, the type of settlement (urban and rural), gender and age of the respondents. Within this general sample, a subsample was made which included the members of the "Roma elite" – defined as prominent and respectable individuals who declare themselves in public as members of the Roma ethnic community, and who are opening issues related to improving the position of Roma within the public discourse, thus contributing in various ways to the creation of a Roma "public image". Among these eminent individuals were artists of various profiles, eminent activists of Roma NGOs, individuals of Roma ethnicity who hold important political positions at various levels of government, and so on. Within our sample, a total of 20 interviews were conducted with these prominent individuals, while 40 interviews were done with Roma citizens living in various cities and towns in Serbia.

The analysis of the collected empirical material was performed using the method of discursive analysis. This paper attempted to recognize, map and constitute the specific statements within which the respondents interpret fragments of their everyday reality formed by the elements of their (individual and collective) identity constructs, into a unique cultural artefact which will be socially contextualized using discursive analysis, thus enabling the comprehension of their real possible social and political meanings.

Like any discursive analysis, ours was also focused on the language and the meanings which are reproduced through language into speech and into the structure of arguments within the testimonies of the respondents. This is largely due to the fact that language is not a neutral medium through which one "only" communicates and exchanges information, but it represents a social field within which our knowledge of the world is actively shaped. In this regard, by applying this type of analysis, we tried to avoid the trap of treating the language used within the collected empirical material as a mere reflection of reality. On the contrary, we tried to treat the language as a medium that constructs and organizes reality for us (Tonkiss, 1996: 246). In that sense, this analysis also treats the language and the testimonies as a space where social meanings are articulated and reproduced, and certain social (personal and group) identities are constituted.

The conducted discursive analysis of the empirical material was focused on two central topics:

a) on the one hand, the interpretive context (Tonkiss, 1996: 249) within which each individual narrative arises,

b) and on the other hand, the rhetorical organization of narratives (Tonkiss, 1996: 250).

Interpretive context refers to the social circumstances within which a certain narrative is constructed, since each individual respondent, while speaking and shaping his own narrative (consciously or unconsciously), always adapts in a certain way to the specific social context according to and within which one is interpreting and situating their own experiences. In this sense, the research of the interpretive context implies a kind of quest for meanings that can be found and understood only if the analysis sometimes goes "behind" the narrative itself (Tonkiss, 1996: 249) and searches for interpretation arising from a specific social and cultural context in which it resides. On the other hand, the analysis of the rhetorical organization of narratives implies a quest for a specific matrix of arguments, which arises in this view from a certain selected interpretive strategy, and in other, from a certain value and/or ideological discourse within which the respondent acts and thinks.

The first step in this analysis is the reconstruction of the social, (sub)cultural and hegemonic matrix of the Roma ethnic community to which our respondents simultaneously belong. The premise of this research is that only by understanding the broader social and subcultural context is it possible to comprehend certain cultural artefacts and their meanings, as well as their possible projected social role and expected impact on possible social change in the structural position of this ethnic community within the social context of Serbian society. Hegemonic concepts of reality, which can be reconstructed from different types of data, everyday practices, and the content of their interpretations observed by respondents within each individual narrative, affect our understanding of different identity positions and the opportunities that derive from them. These hegemonic concepts shape our lenses due to the fact that they unconsciously write meanings into our comprehension of different identity positions that are not inherent in them, outside the predetermined hegemonic value coordinate system through which, in a certain way, we participate in the collective life of the society of which we are a part. Because, as Alfred Schitz says: "Meaning [...] is not an inherent property of certain experiences that occur within the flow of our consciousness, but the result of interpreting past experiences that we reflexively view from the present Now" (Schitz, 1998: 89).

ROMA CULTURE AND ITS PARADOXES

The main constitutive element of Roma culture is a complex notion of *Romanipen*. It is a complicated concept of Roma philosophy encompassing totality of their ethnic identity. However, although this concept exists even among Roma communities that have no particular word for its denomination, there is a huge

diversity in the interpretation of its content. First of all because, in practice, it is not easy to separate the spiritual dimension of Romanipen from its performativity.

During a long period of time, Roma community has been adapting to different cultural settings and customs of different ethnic communities with whom it shares a common living environment. This adaptation was performed through appropriation of the fragments and elements of the outsiders' cultures and their incorporation into its own cultural practices[1]. Roma "culture is created through contact, sometimes conflict and specific exchange ... (it) is a culture created from and through difference" (Okely, 2010: 41). In line with this, we could agree with Andrzej Mirga's claim that the concept of Romanipen only makes sense if it is not perceived according to its different contemporary interpretations, but in the original form extracted from the reality of Roma life (Mirga, 1987: 243-255).

This inclusiveness and adaptability of Roma community represents at the same time their vital communal surviving mechanism, as well as the mechanism that obscures the collective memory. Because of this paradox, it is not easy to reconstruct the Romanipen. For the same reason, when studying Roma it is "absolutely necessary to have very good knowledge of the ethnic cultures in the countries and regions they live in (or had lived before their migrations). Only by doing so the misunderstandings can be avoided and an adequate presentation of Roma culture can be achieved" (Marushiakova and Popov, 2016: 48).

ROMA ETHNIC COMMUNITY IN SERBIA

Previous researchs show that members of the Roma ethnic community have traditionally been marginalized within Serbian society (Jugović, 2007; Jakšić and Bašić, 2005; Jakšić, 2002). A disproportionately large percentage of Roma live in unhygienic settlements (Jakšić, 2002), have a low level of education compared to the general population (Jarić, 2015; Jarić and Sokolovska, 2014; Jarić and Vukasović, 2009), have no employment (Sokolovska, 2015; Milosavljević and Jugović, 2009), does not participate in the political life of the society (Jarić and Živadinović, 2012)... The assumption we based the research on was that life under such specific circumstances of multiple socially marginalizing social frameworks, in the lives of the members of the Roma ethnic community and sub-cultural groups within, can provoke two types of responses. On the one hand, the response could be collared with apathy, backwardness and anomic socio-cultural practices, but on the other, it could encourage the development of certain skills that enable

[1] For example the notion of so-called "Gypsy music" that is consider as one of the most important part of Roma culture, is "to a high degree an abstract concept, because indeed no such uniform music and dance exist. What we have is a large variety of different versions of 'Gypsy Music and Dance' in dependence from respective cultural and historical regions, e.g. there are Central European, Balkan, Russian, Spanish, etc. versions of 'Gypsy Music and Dance'" (Marushiakova and Popov, 2016: 48).

individuals and the community as a whole to survive, despite the multiple frustrating social contexts.

Thus, in this research, counterintuitively, an attempt is made to view "disadvantages" as "advantages" or as potentials for demarginalization, and their elements as tools that could be used to frame new political discourse and to generate visions of new empowering narratives. A special part of the analysis is dedicated to mapping potentially frustrating identity positions that obstruct the integration of members of this ethnic community into the wider social and cultural context of Serbian society. All this is not an easy research task, having in mind the numerous theoretical-methodological and ethical-political limitations of such multi-sensitive research (Milenković, Jarić and Sokolovska, 2014). Existing ethnological-anthropological and sociological researches reveal to the attentive reader the frequently asked research question: Can Roma get out of the "vicious circle of poverty"?, a question which was for decades considered relevant to the Roma ethnic community research, but in the last decade has been replaced by another, related one, which can be summarized in the following: Can Roma get out of the "vicious circle of culturally imposed identity"? (Banić Grubišić, 2013). Bearing in mind that in this vicious circle of identity, they are held by the notions that others have about them, especially those who are related to them professionally through civil society sector, Roma seem to take on reflections of constructed identity markers (a) victim, (b) marginalized other and (c) a radically different other that cannot be integrated even when the mechanisms of (auto) marginalization are excluded. Thus, the Roma acquire the characteristics of a "naturally" excluded social group that is socio-culturally (racially, class and ethnically) "destined" to be 'in need' and thus, seemingly forever, classified as a) a homogeneous social group without the possibility of individual emancipation from discipline traditions b) a social group without the power to overcome its own marginalization and, on top of all that, c) a social group that (p) remains to be in the social position of "only themselves to blame".

When interpreting the traces that these imprinted identity markers inscribe in the identity constructs of real Roma citizens, the influence of instrumental (intuitive, albeit with some actors also strategic) essentialism should not be forgotten, since it is especially manifested in the form of (auto) exoticization of this ethnic community through popular culture and their own participation in it.

RESEARCH RESULTS

Based on the collected empirical material and the respondents' answers about what it means for them to be Roma, it is possible to single out the three most common motives that appear in different combinations within parts of narratives in which respondents draw the boundaries of their own ethnic identity constructs. For most respondents, "being Roma means being human", which seems to emphasize that, on the one hand, members of the Roma ethnic

community are not fundamentally different from other people because they belong to the same global human community, and on the other, to be a member of this ethnic community also means adhering to certain ethical principles. The second most frequent motive we encounter in the respondents' narratives could be summarized into the following statement: "to be Roma means to be in some way isolated from the majority". Within many narratives, this motive intertwines in various ways with the previous one, thus it becomes clear that the participation in this construct of abstract humanity for Roma, usually implies contradictory, and sometimes conflicting, identity entanglements in the reality of everyday life.

"To be a Roma means to be a man of honor and integrity, misunderstood by the community and the environment he resides in."

Perhaps the most interesting theme we come across within many narratives is the one of freedom, which occupies an extremely important place within the mental identity geographies of the Roma.

"Some are planning life for the next three or four years, while the Roma are living for today. But that freedom to wake up in the morning and not know what date it is, not to be interested in what time it is, and not to know where you will sleep that day, that freedom comes with a price. I grew up in misery and poverty and that misery and poverty taught me that when you fall you have to get up. You have to have the will, the motivation and the reason to succeed in life."

Of course, this subject of freedom is only one of the elements within a wider corpus of values which, in the opinion of many of our respondents, form a consistent *philosophy of life* that shapes the individual and social lives of Roma citizens.

"The very essence of identity of Roma national community, is the philosophy of life."

This philosophy of life is in many respects different from (expressed and/or unexpressed) expectations of those who live around Roma, which according to some respondents, places the members of the Roma ethnic community into an undesirable social position which has marked the Roma existence for a long time.

"Roma people have been persecuted throughout history, to this today, precisely due to the inability of their surroundings to comprehend them and their way of life, their different values and different views on life". Or as one of our respondents phrased it: "Roma philosophy is based on being, not having", and that is strikingly different from all the philosophies of life that the Roma's immediate environment within the modern society of Serbia has.

Nevertheless, on the canvas of this identity reality depicted in rough sketches, it is possible to identify fragments of identity markers that could be interpreted as hidden potentials which, if relocated to other fields of society, could enable

members of the Roma ethnic community to improve their personal and collective structural position within the wider social system, but at the same time, as damaging mechanisms that even further emphasize the element of isolation and prevent members of this ethnic community from integrating into the wider social system. Paradoxically, respondents themselves speak of both identity markers as important elements of their own ethnic identity. In this sense, the analysis identified the five most frequent positive markers, and the three most frequent negative markers.

One of the important identity markers for Roma ethnic identity is the idea of *nonviolence* as something that marks the existence of Roma as an ethnic community, as opposed to other ethnic communities that surround them.

"As a Roma, what I take most pride in, is certainly nonviolence."

"The Roma are a peaceful people. That sets us apart from all other people. We never fought a war. You will never find it in any book, or in the entire history of the world. We fought only for others, but we never protested, which means that this is who we are in our very essence. They trampled on us, they all trampled on us, as they trample on us today, but we never retaliated."

"I am proud that we Roma have never been the executioners; we have never fought wars of conquest or territory."

Quite possibly, this specificity of the Roma national identity became increasingly important, and therefore especially emphasized in the narratives of our respondents, as a consequence of a series of war episodes that took place in the former Yugoslav region during the 1990s, that had Roma as victims[2]. Thus, even according to the respondents themselves, despite the fact that the everyday life of a large number of Roma citizens includes elements of violent behavior, individual and collective conflicts, verbal conflicts, psychological abuse of people from their environment and similar, in the outlines of collective consciousness, what makes Roma different from other ethnic communities is this element of nonviolence. Within this framework, it is necessary to interpret the following identity marker highlighted by our respondents, which is *being unvindictive.*

"Roma have been victims of persecution for centuries, and that did not provoke revenge among my people. I'm proud of that."

An important identity marker that has enabled the Roma as an ethnic community to survive within an array of frustrating social circumstances in different historical periods, is the feeling of *solidarity* towards the members of their own ethnic community, which further enabled the survival of both individual community members and the community as a whole. This especially applies to certain extreme situations that surpass the ordinary and threaten the stability of the community as a whole and potentially, its survival.

[2] See for more publications about the countries of Western Balkans: *The Wall of Anti-Gypsysm* (2017), Civil Rights Defenders.

"For the most serious human rights violations, we proclaim you know which punishment – that the one who broke the law is alienated from the community and that no one is allowed to talk to him, but we do not leave his family and his children alone. We help them and that is the code of solidarity that exists in the Roma community."

The next important element, according to our respondents, which constitutes as a comparative advantage of the Roma ethnic community as opposed to those communities from their environment, is a *strong family cohesion*.

"Roma are characterized by harmony and mutual connection between family members. You will rarely hear that a Roma father kicked his son out of the house because they do not agree on some issues, as is the case with Serbs. For Roma, the slogan that always applies is: 'all for one, one for all."

"In Roma families, there must be a code of respect."

According to our respondents, Roma are significantly more open to other cultures than other ethnic groups, which is a crucial resource and capacity for the integration of this ethnic community into different societies and cultures. It is important to emphasize that although it is a feature that belongs to the Roma cultural and historical heritage, in modern social circumstances it can be used in many different ways.

"In that neighborhood, in those rugs, in those slums where I was born, I learned from the people I lived with about different cultures. Due to constant migration, Roma have learned one thing – how to survive, how to get involved and integrate into the society and still preserve their traditions and customs. These were all wise people who spoke four to five world languages. And that is very important for us when we talk about what distinguishes the Roma community."

"Roma kids grow up to be bilingual. They learn Roma and Serbian in parallel."

"Let's say that wherever I've been in the world, there were Roma everywhere and you could communicate with them in Roma everywhere. It is like English. So it's international. I was able to reach an agreement with the Roma all over the world. Which is, one must admit, a very good thing. Why wouldn't for example, even non-Roma learn the Roma language. If they wish to, of course, nothing by force."

However, in the narratives of the respondents, we noticed several identity markers that significantly hinder the integration of members of the Roma ethnic community into the wider social system, and increase the potential sense of ethnic distance of the non-Roma population towards Roma but also vice versa, from the members of the Roma ethnic community towards non-Roma. One such marker is the *strong patriarchy* that results in commonly accepted ideas about the asymmetry of male and female gender roles within the subcultural value

reality of the Roma ethnic community. This determination to pursue traditional value patterns of gender roles, which was legally overcome within the former Yugoslav society in the 1940s, and significantly deconstructed on a daily basis during the last seventy years, creates a significant experiential, value and symbolic gap between the subcultural reality within which Roma live and the cultural reality of the Serbian society. In that sense, insisting on this type of value patterns and this type of traditional gender regime (Connell, 1987) that has no foundation in the reality outside the narrow subcultural ghettos of the marginalized Roma minority, seems to be one in a series of auto-ghettoization mechanisms. These mechanisms are, according to the researches, highly destructive for this minority community that voluntarily applies them, insists on them, and thematizes them as important identity markers, sometimes even with full awareness of the limitations and damage they produce in the lives of specific individuals and the community as a whole.

"The father figure remains quite strong in Roma families, deriving from the customary law and norms within it. Father is the leader of the family."

"Women are the ones who suffer the most in Roma society. A few of them go to school, or receive any kind of education, very few of them have the privilege of enjoying those equal rights of expression that we take pride in, but that is also changing."

"It is widely known that women contribute the most to the material, economic and every other survival of the family. And that's not good. As long as we fail to reconcile these differences and reduce the division of labor to a level that provides equal opportunities, we will hardly be able to expect a woman in her 30s to be satisfied with her life, and (not to mention) her appearance."

"The most important role of a woman is to reconcile different interests – of a husband, a family, of her father, because they all live under one roof."

This gap sometimes takes the unwelcome form of withdrawing, distancing and closing the specific Roma communities into a narrow subcultural framework of artificially constructed security of Roma enclaves, whose existence is painfully determined by the experience of a specific social isolation.

"There are about 600 Roma enclaves in Serbia. About a hundred Roma enclaves or caravans live in a form of isolation. In Vojvodina, about 80% of my people live in some kind of isolation."

"We Roma still have something that is not acceptable, and that is the so-called Roma enclaves, or slums or caravans as we Roma call them. They are governed by a certain code of tribal behavior, to say the least, we have a Roma kris[3], a Roma court, etc. So many of these so-called customary rights have ensured Roma's survival, and that is of course positive. However, some negative things

[3] Roma traditional court.

arise from that, such as the non-inclusion of Roma in the system, in the state, in social flows, and the price of that is that we are socially invisible."

An idea exists that this experience of voluntary self-isolation enabled the survival of the Roma ethnic community on a global scale.

"Precisely due to this self-isolation have we Roma been able to survive this long."

However, this artificially constructed "false memory" of collective history overshadows the personal memories of those who have faced the consequences of the social distance that this isolation (voluntary or forced) produced, maintained, and nurtured.

"When I went to primary school, I did not say that I was a Roma woman, I was ashamed to say that. Children are afraid of that, you are afraid of your peers and how it will affect you and how you will do in life. Today, I am proud to be a Roma woman, precisely because I went through it all."

Thus, this socially induced shame of one's own identity is contradictory in many different ways, intertwined with numerous internal and external tensions and rigidities that are in different relationships of intertwining, synergistic action, mutual exclusion or clearly polarized conflict. These conflicts are perhaps best detected in two focal points:

(1) in the conflict between traditional and modernization tendencies, which in reality is further complicated by the absence of relevant written historical sources that would provide a relatively reliable scientific picture of what authentic Roma tradition is.

"We Roma are leaders in art. It is true that Roma are very good artists. However, we Roma know some things among ourselves. We know that there were Roma craftsmen who came, and that there were Roma who were artists. The crafts of the craftsmen disappeared. Times are changing and we are moving towards the modernization of the world. So as the world changes, so do the Roma. Therefore, it's normal for things like those old crafts to disappear. While, say, art is evolving because it is a part of this modernization."

"We Roma ourselves do not know our culture. This is the truth. It is being questioned. Romologists and ethnologists are researching it, but in essence, we do not know because we have lost our sources. We accept the culture and the language of the environment we live in. We do not know our original culture. We find ourselves watching some Indian series and then we see something familiar but we don't really know."

(2) Generational conflict between the "old" and the "young".

"More educated people should be included in the promotion of Roma culture. We should not forget the old people, they know the best how it used to be, there is much to be learned from their tales and stories. They should be consulted, but this process should be led by younger people."

"We, young Roma from Surdulica[4], gathered in one place in the village and listened to the elderly and their talks about politics – they see themselves as leaders of the community. We asked them: is what you are saying just your personal interest? They wondered why we were asking them that. We answered: you are illiterate, how do you imagine leading the Roma population without finishing primary school? Allow us young people to get involved in creating current policies that take into account Roma interests. (...) Thus, we will invite one representative of each family to a joint meeting, we will decide what should a common interest be and we will all go to the polls together to support the candidate who can meet our expectations. That's how it was. We organized ourselves from within, and it didn't take any political party to stand behind us."

It is this last example, it is perhaps the most vividly demonstrated how an activation of Roma ethnic community potentials, that we also observed in this research, can contribute to the strengthening of the community itself and overcoming specific life problems. In this case, the existence of a strong family cohesion and a sense of solidarity among the community members made it possible to create an ad hoc political solution in which an informal local political body was created – relying on traditional intra-family organization but also on traditional ties between members of Roma ethnic communities. In the context of this, it is necessary to take only one more step and apply the same strategy outside the narrow subcultural frameworks of the Roma ethnic community and Roma enclaves. Naturally, this step should not only be made by Roma citizens, but: "The state must recognize Roma as partners", in the process recoding the existing metanarratives (voluntary and forced) of self-isolation and marginalization of the Roma ethnic community that are still, despite various measures of affirmative action, very strong.

CONCLUSION

Everyday reality of Roma ethnic community members is marked with all-pervasive intersectional marginalization. The unfavourable social position which results from it, creates the societal circumstances in which the majority of Roma community members coerce into social (spacial and emotional) distance, which segregates them in multiple ways from the other(s) social groups. Nevertheless, this long-lasting collective life on the social distance, as well as the rejection from the other ethnic communities to tear down the imaginary walls that segregate Roma, forced members of the Roma ethnic community to develop collective strategies of managing this social distance. These inter-generational strategies become important traits of common identity and the main substance of hidden (intragroup) Roma identity politics.

[4] Small town in Southern Serbia.

We conclude this research with the words of one respondent and the hope that by producing these new empowering metanarratives, which are based on these Roma intragroup hidden identity politics, it will be possible to encourage the Roma to do what many individual members of this ethnic community managed to accomplish within their personal lives – to step out of the vicious circle of culturally constructed traditional ethnic identities and reshape them in accordance with the identity markers that are a part of the intragroup experience and modern needs of the real Roma citizens.

"I am happy and my heart is where I was born, in that caravan, but I will be unhappy if my daughter, and I have two daughters and a son, end up in that same caravan."

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SUBVERSIVE METAMORPHOSES BY JEON WOOCHI AS A TAOIST WIZARD

HYUB LEE

ABSTRACT

This article analyzes the subversiveness of *Jeon Woochi Jeon* based on legends of a historical character. Composed of episodes based on preexisting folk tales, the story represents public antipathy to the dominant system of Joseon dynasty. As a Taoist wizard, Jeon Woochi satirizes the dominant class by using magical power. Through metamorphoses, he punishes dominant figures: a King, high officials, Confucianists and so on. Jeon saves common people suffering from abusive implementation of power. Although Jeon criticizes the immoral high classes, there is a limitation in his subversiveness against the monarchial system itself. With respect for traditional moral virtues, he would not upset the dominant system itself, which can be substantiated by his punishment on the raid of thieves. Defeated by a Confucian scholar with Taoist magical techniques, he returns to the mythic world. Following the traditional pattern of returning from fantasy to reality, the work concedes to the difficulty of subversive desire.

Keywords: Jeon Woochi, subversiveness, Taoist wizard, metamorphoses, moral virtues.

1. INTRODUCTION

During the Joseon dynasty (1394-1910) that existed before the modern Korea, a large number of stories, in the form of legend or novel, were characterized by subversiveness against the dominant socio-political structure. Supposedly written during the mid-19th century, *Jeon Woochi Jeon* (田禹治傳) is one of the representative stories that signal resistance to the dogmatic authority. The work literally means the story of Jeon Woochi, one of the most famous characters in the pre-modern Korean literature. Jeon is a family name and Woochi a given name. A successful TV drama and a movie of Jeon Woochi starring top stars witness his lasting popularity among Koreans.[1] Although classified as a classic novel, it is not

[1] The film *Jeon Woo-chi: The Taoist Wizard* ranked 3rd in 2009 with 6,100,532 tickets sold nationwide in Korea. As Jeong Je-ho notes, it is the most successful case among movies that are based on ancient stories. And the KBS TV drama *Jeon Woo-chi* (2012-13) also gained popularity.

merely a creation of an individual author. It is a fictionalized form of combined legends or folk tales featuring Jeon Woochi, a Taoist wizard. With the author being unknown, there was a conjecture that it was written by Heo Gyun, the author of *Hong Gildong Jeon* (Ku 65). Recently, however, it is generally regarded as the product of a group rather than an individual author.

Jeon Woochi's legends or folk tales, transmitted orally or in written form, are not merely imaginations or fantasies, but grounded upon historical facts. Jeon Woochi is based on a real person who supposedly lived around the end of 15th century and early 16th century. There are dozens of records or notes about Jeon, with some differences in detail.[2] Despite some slight differences in the resources, it is agreeably conjectured that Jeon Wooch is a descendent from a family that collapsed in political strife accompanying the fall of Goryeo dynasty (918-1392). And historical figures who had relationships with Jeon are mainly victims of a political strife called *Eulsa Sahwa* (乙巳士禍).[3] Considering his background, it is no wonder that Jeon is a character antithetical to the dominant monarchical system.

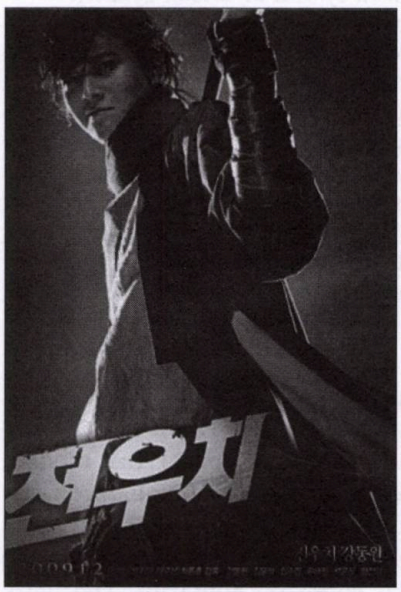

Fig 1. A movie poster

Grounded on this heretic figure, a cluster of similar legendary stories were created, combined with a variety of preexisting folk tales. Since the 16th century, there have been circulated a large number of legends and fictional stories featuring him. Its popularity among common people for a long period implies its reflection of collective consciousness. As a trickster, he satirizes the dominant system and ideology of the Joseon dynasty. This is why Jo Sang-woo classifies Jeon Woochi as a public hero, despite his lack of heroic dignity, among various types of heroes in Korean classic novels.[4]

The work has received critical attention from the early period of modern literary criticism. Its research commenced from Kim Taejun in the 1940s, but could not continuously develop due to the Korean War (1950-53). After the turmoil of two decades devastated by the war, various aspects of the work began to be analyzed in the 1970s. A lot of researches have been engaged with its folklore aspects and

[2] The resources include *Songwajabseol* (松窩雜說), *Eowooyadam* (於于野談) and so on.

[3] It is a literati purge that occurred in the year *eulsa* (1545). It was a strife between a king's maternal relatives. Neo-Confucian literati who pursued political reformation were killed or banished.

[4] Jo's paper is the enhanced version of his paper presented at a symposium on Korean Classic Literature held at Universita degli studi di Napoli on 7 & 8 November 2017. Titled 'In cerca di spiriti ed eroi: viaggio nella letteratura coreana classica,' it was presided by Literature Translation Institute of Korea.

subversiveness. Especially researches by Yoon Jae-keun, Park Il-yong and Yim Cheol-ho are noteworthy, and thus influential on later critical works.[5] My analysis significantly relies on the two main aspects of critical achievements.

Before advancing analysis, various versions of the work need to be examined. Like other stories based on folk tales or legends, there are many variant versions. Among the versions, I chose one called *Gyŏngpan 37*, which is generally regarded as the most definitive version. Composed of 37 *pans*, that is parts, it was circulated in Gyŏng, another name of Seoul, Joseon's capital. Actually, its title is *Jeon Unchi Jeon* (全雲致傳), slightly differentiated from *Jeon Woochi* in pronunciation with a difference in Chinese letters for the given name.[6] Other variant versions as well as the *Gyŏngpan 37* have slight differences in title, for example *Jeon Woolchi Jeon*, *Dyeon Woochi Jeon* and so on. However, *Jeon Woochi Jeon* is usually used to refer to all these variations. Among the varied titles, *Jeon Unchi Jeon* is the commonest one. It was intended to emphasize the mysterious aura of the protagonist. The Chinese character 'un' (雲) means cloud, which implies the heavenly sphere from which he originated. Although I deal with the version titled *Jeon Unchi Jeon*, I employ the name Jeon Woochi, as the protagonist is mostly called and spelled in Korean academics and public.

Despite its title differentiated from the standard, the *Gyŏngpan 37* version should be chosen for the article for various reasons. As the agreeably definitive version, it is a lengthy text that profoundly contains the original content in an intact form, with least missing parts. Other shortened versions, including *Gyŏngpan 22* and *Gyŏngpan 17*, have many missing parts, or overly modified from the Joseon dynasty versions during the modern period. Like other versions, *Gyŏngpan 37* is composed of separate episodes, which are rather loosely connected yet form the whole plot. As several critics indicate, the main reason why it is composed of episodes is that each episode was constructed upon individual folk tale. The vestiges of folk tales remain most profoundly in *Gyŏngpan 37*. The relation to folk tales is the main aspects I will explore.

What is also significant is that the *Gyŏngpan 37* version was written in Hangul, the Korean alphabet, not Chinese letters. The Korean alphabet was created by King Sejong around the mid-15th century for the purpose of enabling uneducated common people to read letters. During the Joseon dynasty, educated high class used Chinese letters, while common people unable to use Chinese letters used the Korean alphabet alternatively. For this reason, the Korean version was written for readers of mid-low classes. It reflects the ideas and desires of the majority of common Koreans, not the aristocratic high classes.

For quotations in this article, I chose "The Story of Jeon Unchi" a translation by Kang Minsoo in 2019. There is no other choice for this new translation is the

[5] For further details, see Yoon Jae-keun 1982, Park Il-yong 1982 (37-60) and 1978 (113-35).
[6] The slight difference in the Chinese letters is not seriously discussed by Korean critics.

only version based on the *Gyŏngpan 37* text. Totally, there is only one additional English translation: "The Legend of Zon U-Czi" by Zong In-sob in 1952. As Chun Sung-woon indicates, as a shortened form based on a later print version *Sinmungwanbon*,[7] this old version has many problems. First of all, too many parts of the original content is simplified or even omitted. And the translator arbitrarily modified many parts of the original story. Partially misreading the original, he wrongly translated some parts while adding his own phrases or sentences. In addition to this, another problem lies in the limitations in the linguistic ability of Zong, who is a scholar on Korean literature. Meanwhile, the recent version could overcome the limitations in the former one, both in content and expression in English. Especially in expressing the Korean content in English, the new one is much better, as the translator is fluent both in Korean and English.[8]

2. SUBVERSIVE TRICKSTER WITH MAGICAL POWER

From his birth, Jeon Woochi makes an appearance as a mythical being. Traditionally in Korean legends and folk tales, "[a] hero from a noble blood is born through an extraordinary process of birth" (Ko, Jung & Jung). In a typical way, he is born to a reputable academician named Jeon Suk. His wife Choe is also a virtuous woman from a good family. One day, Lady Choe has a strange dream. In the dream, a boy appears and says: "I was a servant to the immortal spirits of the holy mountain of Yeoungju, charged with gathering herbs for my masters. But due to an infraction I committed, I have been exiled to the realm of humans, so I bid you to treat me with affection" (89). The holy mountain of Yeoungju is a mythic mountain in the ancient Chinese legend. It has been said that immortal beings called *shinseon* (神仙) live there. The Chinese influences on Korean literature are often found. Ten months later, a baby is born, when the house is surrounded by a five colored cloud.

Jeon was not born with innate magical power. In a mythic process, he obtains the magical power. Jeon attains the ability of using *dosul* (道術)[9] by swallowing a bead of *kumiho* (九尾狐)[10] and getting a book from it. The magical power of the

[7] It is a later version in the early 20th century. As a modified version, it is not directly linked with folk tales.

[8] The translator Kang Minsoo is an associate professor of European intellectual history in the Department of History at the University of Missouri–St. Louis. He also translated *Hong Gildong Jeon*, the Korean classic, and wrote an academic article and a book on it. *Hong Gildong Jeon* is considered to be influential on *Jeon Woochi Jeon*. For further information, see Kang 2016 and 2019.

[9] It literally means Taoist techniques. It has a supernatural power like blowing wind, transforming shapes, moving quickly over a long distance and so on.

[10] *Kumiho* literally means nine-tailed fox. It is a very well-known monstrous being with magical power, especially that of metamorphosing itself into human. It supposedly originated from the Chinese culture (Kang 2006: 15-21). Paul T. Beattle offers an explanation: "The fox spirit is an especially prolific shapeshifter, known variously as the *húli jīng* (fox spirit) in China, the *kitsune* (fox) in Japan, and the *kumiho* (nine-tailed fox) in Korea. Although the specifics of the tales vary, these fox spirits can usually shapeshift, often taking the form of beautiful young women who attempt to seduce men, whether for mere mischief or to consume their bodies or spirits" (510).

nine tailed fox is transferred to him through the bead. In this section, a sort of fox bead folk tale is incorporated. The fox bead tale is one found throughout regions in Korea. In the tale, a student has intercourse with a fox metamorphosed into a beautiful woman. Through kiss during the intercourse, he gets a bead called *hojŏng* from the fox. The bead is a medium through which the fox's magical power is transmitted to him.[11] Additionally, Jeon also gets a mysterious book called *Chŏnsŏ* (天書) meaning heavenly book. By reading the mysterious book, he attains the knowledge of magic.

The way he attains the magical power has the implications of profanity and thus subversiveness. The fox is usually regarded as a sinister being in Korean folk tales. Often metamorphosed into a beautiful young woman, a fox commits vicious behavior, trapping humans. As a vicious creature, its magical power is profane. It violates predominating virtues, further undermining the dogmatic value system. As he took over the vicious monster's power, his power is congenitally tainted with profanity. This is a determining factor of the identity of his subversive magic.

What complicates the characteristics of his magic is the heavenly book. In the Orient, heaven represents the absolute principle of universe. As the book offers the dominant power over the world, it seem to be properly titled. But the implications of heaven are not neutral but politically value laden. The holy power of heaven is usually given to rulers. Thus, Jeon's possession of the book implies privileged dominance over the material world. This incompatibility signifies undermining the hierarchical order of monarchy.

By employing his magical power, Jeon punishes the ruling classes of the Joseon dynasty. The most representative episode is that of tricking the king of Joseon to donate a golden pillar. Upon a five-colored cloud, Jeon makes an appearance in the palace. He is disguised as *Yu Huang Shangdi* (玉皇上帝), Great Emperor of Jade.[12] Threatening to cause a disaster, he requires the king devote him a huge golden pillar. Then the king orders it to be made, which is done by collecting gold from all the regions. Jeon sells the pillar and then distributes the gained money to poor people. Undermining the holy dignity conferred upon the king, Jeon satirizes the monarchical system purported to represent the celestial order.

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[11] Similar stories that have been orally transmitted can be found throughout Korea. About 40 stories deal with a man who restores vitality by swallowing a bead from fox (Cho 1989: 258-9).

[12] It originated from China, and has been very well known in Korea for a long time. In the Chinese folk tradition, Jade Emperor is the supreme deity. It is regarded as an anthropomorphic representation and guardian of morality. It is "the most revered and popular of Chinese Daoist deities. In the official Daoist pantheon, he is an impassive sage-deity, but he is popularly viewed as a celestial sovereign who guides human affairs and rules an enormous heavenly bureaucracy analogous to the Chinese Empire" (Stefon). It has been regarded as the supreme god also by Koreans.

Fig. 2. A scene in the movie *Jeon Woo-chi: The Taoist Wizard.* Jeon Woochi on a cloud descending from the heaven to the royal court

Another main satirizing episode targeted at the ruling classes is that of Wang Yeonhui, the Chief Royal Secretary. Wang as a family name has the meaning of king. Thus, Wang Yeonhui as a high official is a figure representative of the monarchical order. The episode begins with the punishment of a Buddhist monk. Jeon sees a woman who escaped from being raped by a monk. The monk violated the most basic rule of Buddhism. Jeon metamorphoses the monk into Jeon himself, thus causing him to be arrested by officials. Similar to numerous metamorphoses in Greek myths, changing one into someone else is often intended to punish him. The punishment of monk is also intended to satirize Buddhist monks. Buddhism was powerful and corrupt during the Goryeo dynasty. Thus this satire is an aspect of satirizing the corrupt power. This also exemplifies one of various ways Buddhist monks are often treated in Korean folk tales.

In Seoul, hundreds of people transformed into Jeon Woochi as well as the monk were transported from regions throughout the Joseon dynasty. Jeon's magic was exerted upon all the territory. As it is impossible to find the real Jeon Woochi, all of them are being executed. However, one of them abruptly exclaims that he is not Jeon Woochi but Wang Yeonhui. He is identified as Wang, and thus the execution stops. Jeon transforms himself into Wang inside a cloud. He precedes Wang into the house of Wang. In the house of Wang, pretending to be the real Wang, Jeon metamorphoses Wang into a nine-tailed fox and let him bark fox sounds. Thus Wang is arrested by servants. Jeon induces Wang to repent in front of himself, at least peripherally. Then he returns Wang to his true form, and the monk also. Jeon intended not to punish revengefully but to induce them to repent.

Fig 3. Multiplied Jeon Woochi in the TV drama

This episode is considered by Lee Ji-su to be similar to a type of rat metamorphosis folk tale. There are variant versions of rat metamorphosis folk tale, but there is a core idea shared by the variations.[13] It is that a rat metamorphoses into a targeted person, and then, pretending to be the real person, treats the real human as if he were a faked being. Through this experience, the person repents. At a glance it might seem that Jeon puts an illusionary appearance 1upon Wang. However, it paradoxically reveals Wang's real characteristics. This exposure of the beastly characteristics reflects the public desire to identify high officials as wicked beings.

As epitomized above, metamorphoses occur often significantly in this story. In the Korean literary tradition, the metamorphoses can be divided into two types: self-willed ones and transformation of others. The self-willed ones are usually called *dungap* (遁甲), a term originally applied to the rat metamorphoses above. Through the metamorphoses of self, Jeon can transcend himself. Such metamorphoses reflect public desire to escape from given identities by the social structure. Common people dreamed of becoming a person belonging to high class. During the Joseon dynasty, social status was almost fixed and invariable, governing one's life. The reason why Jeon radically metamorphoses into different beings, especially high class people, is that public had no way of realizing their wishes other than gaining a higher status. The radical metamorphoses paradoxically imply the unchangeability of real situations.

Jeon's satire of ruling classes is also targeted at Confucian scholars called 'seonbi.' Seonbi refers to an educated person of ruling class who can potentially

[13] Lee Ji-su lists a variety of rat metamorphosis tales like the following: "A rat that pretended to be master," "A rat that pretended to be a bride," "A rat that metamorphosed by eating nail," etc.

have an administrative position in the Joseon dynasty. The requirements for seonbi are not merely academic ability but also respectable morals. "A seonbi was to live a modest life, learn continuously without cessation, and strive to perfect his character not only by gaining knowledge, but by learning and following the rightful path" (Choi 28). However, there is a doubt whether the categorized group respectably called seonbi generally conformed to such requirements. This is why Jeon satirizes seonbi. Jeon comes to see a group of young seonbis having a party with musical sound and food. With them, about a dozen of courtesans called *gisaeng* were narrating musical poems and playing music. This is a typical scene of recreational sites for seonbi. Although seonbi purported to be virtuous men conforming to Confucian ideals, they would indeed violate such a code of conduct. Among those enjoying the pleasure, especially two men, Mr. So and Mr. Seol, were very opposite to the expected state of seonbi. As their licentious and arrogant behavior is loathsome and detestable, Jeon plays a trick upon them. He makes their testicles suddenly disappear, and a courtesan's hole below abdomen shift to a spot upon abdomen. The hole is a euphemism of genital organ, which shows a bodily taboo in the Confucian society. He satirizes their hypocrisy and punishes them by getting rid of their bodily organs of lust. This satire is not limited to an individual deviance, but targeted at rather general characteristics of seonbi. Contrary to the purported ideal virtues which Confucian scholars are required to conform to, it was common that they indulged in party with women, often with plural wives, that is concubines. Embarrassed at the disappearance of the private parts, they beg Jeon to forgive them. He restores their testicles and also moves the woman's hole to the normal spot. Like other cases of magical transformation, what Jeon wants is not an irrecoverable punishment, but their repentance. The magical power is harnessed to lead them to repent.

3. RESCUING PEOPLE OPPRESSED BY THE DOMINANT SYSTEM

In contrast to his hostile action towards the ruling classes, Jeon beneficially saves helpless common people suffering from the oppressive socio-political system. For example, he rescues a man named Jang Gyechang. As a guard of government warehouse, Jang is known for his moral virtues, especially filial piety. However, he is to be punished for his error in writing a document upon monetary matter. Jeon saves him from death by his magical power of blowing wind. Jang is not merely a careless individual but a representative case of poorly educated class in the Joseon dynasty. Jeon saved one victimized by the learned classes' oppression that reinforces the ruthless dominance by the manipulation of uneducated classes.

There is another episode in which Jeon helps a man in a monetary difficulty. A man named Han Jaegyoeng was lamenting, for he has no money to have a funeral ceremony for father and support his mother. Similar to Jang, Han

has filial piety. The morality Jeon eschews is not wholly opposed to Confucianism, but associated with the genuine virtues of it, which are accepted by all the people regardless of social ranks. Jeon gives him a picture scroll of a house, from which a man called Gojik appears and gives Han 100 silver coins for funeral and then a coin daily. One coin per day does not exceed the basic amount needed for living. Despite the daily benefit, Han gets unsatisfied with the amount of coin. One day Han enters into the picture greedily trying to get 100 coins. However, he is locked in a wareḥouse, which is found to be one in an administrative building. He is arrested yet rescued by a magic wind before an execution. According to Ahn Kyoungmi, this is based on a kind of picture scroll folk tale, called *jokjaseolhwa* (簇子屑話).[14] This is a variation of attaining wealth type.

Fig 4. The moment when Jeon Woochi just entered into a landscape picture in the movie

What is intriguing is that Han was given access to the governmental warehouse as if it were his private one. This reflects common people's antipathy to the asset of governmental organization. During the Joseon dynasty,

[14] *Jokja* means picture scroll and *seolhwa* folk tale. The basic story is that a person or bird in a picture scroll helps the watcher of it. It can be divided into two types: a beauty's appearance type and attaining wealth type. In the former, a beauty comes out of the picture and serves the owner. An example of the beauty type can be found in the episode of Osaeng. To a group of men talking about a lively picture of beauty, Jeon shows a picture with a very beautiful woman. As Jeon calls her, she comes out of it and serves them as he orders. In the later type, when a poor person knocks a bird's beak in a picture, it daily gives a small amount of rice or money. One day his wife greedily beats the bird excessively. The keeper of national warehouse finds the stored items are stolen away, and thus arrests the painter. But he is not punished, as he is rescued through an escape into the picture (Ahn 2001: 34-6).

governmental organizations levied heavy taxes from common people, in the form of grain or other items. Common people thought that their private property was unduly taken away by the government. They had the desire to restore their property, which was reflected by the above episode. The antipathy to the governmental property is further expressed through the transformation of stored stuffs into useless animals and things. Satirically, money is changed into frogs and yellow snakes, while rice into insects and weapons into tree branches. It also needs noting that Jeon not only saved but also punished Han. He got imprisoned for his excessive greed for wealth. This reflects the contemporary moral consciousness that problematizes greed.

The antipathy to the governmental system of unduly robbing people's property is expressed also in an episode of pig head. Jeon sees two men struggling over a pig head, which is usually used for special events in Korea. A man bought it, but the other one, an official, was trying to take it by his power of governmental position. Jeon casts a spell that makes "the pig's head open its mouth and bite the official, who took fright and ran away" (97). The pig's head intriguingly ridicules the bureaucratic system exploiting common people.

Disempowering the bureaucratic system can be found also in a failed attempt to execute Jeon. Jeon is unduly arrested for a treason, which he was actually not engaged with. The king orders servants to punish Jeon by beating with a heavy flat rod. However, the servants cannot move their arms, and the execution fails. The immobility of body, often stiffened, is also found in Korean folk tales.

4. LIMITATION OF JEON WOOCHI'S SUBVERSIVENESS

As evinced by the intention for which he exerts magical power, Jeon Woochi is undeniably representative of subversiveness. However, there is a limitation in his subversiveness. He does not entirely negate the governing system of monarchical dynasty. This tendency can be found in his duel with Yeom Jun, a leader of rebellious gang. Yeom Jun is among a large number of rebellious leaders of gang found in legends or folk tales in the Joseon dynasty.[15] As a leader of thousands of robbers, he formed a settlement in a mountain. He raided villages, took away arms, money and grain from villages. Using his magic power, Jeon defeats Yeom and subsequently his followers surrender. Jeon leads Yeom to redemption, instead of executing him. This treatment shows the stance Jeon takes towards the subversive impulses against the dominant system. Although he repudiates the criminal acts, he

[15] During the Joseon dynasty, there were several famous leaders of gang whose settlements are within mountainous area. They include most notably Lim Kkeokjeong and Jang Gilsan as well as Hong Gildong. A large number of folk tales were generated based on these actual figures. They are, in a sense, comparable to Robin Hood in that they are known to have taken the properties of the rich and distributed them to the poor.

does not entirely repudiate Yeom's resistance to the monarchical system. Yeom declares:

> I am following the will of heaven and the desire of the common people in seeking to topple the unrighteous king and save the multitudes who have fallen into misery. (102)

He justifies own vile acts by addressing powerless people and indicating the monarchical fallacy. Although his insistence cannot be credited, his denouncement of the governmental system is right. Through Yeom's speech, the author indirectly voices his own opinion, appealing to the public indignation against the dominant classes. This is why Jeon does not execute him. It also reflects the public favor for the rebellious leaders during the Joseon dynasty.

The limitation of Jeon's subversiveness is further elucidated in the ending. There is an abrupt reverse in the judgment over him. Contrary to his winnings hitherto described, he loses in a series of battles. His intention to help his friend Yang to unduly take a woman is frustrated by an intervention of a Heaven Sent Young Master.[16] The spirit reproaches him:

> Mortal Man Jeon Unchi, listen to me. You learned magic only to make use of the Heavenly Realm for your tricks and to deprive women of their virtue. Did you think that heaven would overlook that? I've been ordered to end the likes of you, so you don't blame me for your demise. (110)

His statement denies the legitimacy of Jeon's role and message. He blames Jeon's abuse of magic for improper purposes. Undeniably, Jeon's act intended to help Yang is profane and immoral. However, the Master's devaluation is over-generalizing. Except for the above case, his magic was mostly intended to rectify and caution injustice. Though seemingly profane, his acts were not merely mischievous acts. The actual reason for the blame is that Taoist magic is associated with public desire for subversion. In the subsequent battle with the master, Jeon is defeated, and thus begs connivance. The spirit adds to his denouncement:

> Due to the unfortunate state of this country, the likes of you felt free to create disturbances with magic, so I was going to execute you. But given the situation with your elderly mother, I will let you live for now. (110)

His devaluation reflects the conservative opinion to resist the change of the status quo. Although opposed to Jeon, he also respects filial piety, which is a commonly shared virtue by Koreans, regardless of social classes.

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[16] Heaven Sent Young Master is sent from heaven, in order to take dead people to the heaven. As a very well known character in the Korean mythology, he is usually depicted as wearing black clothes.

Fig 5. A battle scene between Jeon Woochi and Heavn Sent Young Master in the TV drama

Jeon's failure continues in his relation with Seo Hwadam (徐花潭) and his acquaintance. Seo Hwadam refers to Seo Gyeongdeok (徐敬德), a prominent Confucian scholar in ambivalence. The appearance of Seo is the point where folk tale is infused with a historical fact. Although he had a reputation for extensive knowledge, he lived secluded from administrative positions. Although generally classified as a Confucian scholar, his knowledge is known to be not limited to Confucianism but encompass Taoist knowledge, especially Taoist techniques. Official records of him are not sufficient, yet there are abundant folk tales regarding him. Even a novel *Seo Hwadamjeon* based on the folk tales was written. The abundant folk tales reflect the public interest in the unusual aspects of the prominent scholar. He had an image of transcendental figure the public dreamed of. Common people wished a transcendental figure will reform the dismal corrupt world. This unrealistic wish was combined with Taoism, which was opposed to the hegemonic Confucianism (Hwang 281).

Also in a magic contest with Yongdam introduced by Seo, Jeon cannot win him. The duel is stopped by Seo. Ultimately, Jeon is defeated by Seo. That Jeon is defeated by the scholar implies his failure of subverting the dominant system in which Confucianism predominates. It should be acknowledged at least that his subversive attempts are disallowed to entirely negate the Confucian order with which Seo is associated. Confucianism served as the most significant instrument to justify the dominant system of the Joseon dynasty. Led by Seo, Jeon submissively goes back to Yeoungju mountain where he came from. The ending retreats his subversive play from the realm of reality to fantasy.

5. CONCLUSION

We could see the ending is starkly contrasted with the preceding parts. Jeon's acts are denounced for his disturbance of the status quo through the profane magic.

To this abrupt reverse, a doubt might be raised. Throughout the text, the author retains a positive viewpoint upon Jeon's acts. On the whole, the text endorses his performances of trickery. For this reason, the final reverse cannot be credited to be genuine. The unexpected harsh negation of him cannot be regarded as the determinative judgment on his acts throughout the work.

The final twist was probably used to reflect some critical opinion about him. Especially during the 17th century, some conservative literati discussed Jeon from a negative viewpoint. This negative opinion is opposed in the 18th century, thus forming a dialectic process. The author incorporated the negative viewpoints upon Jeon. He probably tried to avoid one-sided evaluation of the controversial character.

In this light, the ending can be regarded as a compromise with reality. In many Korean stories, fantasy or dream of the unrealizable is baffled in the ending. The work concedes to the limitation of subversive desire in the real world, though the ending does not entirely negate the potential of subversion. The work reflects to what extent common people dreamed of rebellion.[17]

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USAGE OF THE ST BASIL PRAYERS IN TRANSYLVANIA BY THE END OF THE 19TH CENTURY

VALER SIMION COSMA

ABSTRACT

The Christian Churches provide their ministers and believers with a complex set of prayers, rituals, and practices, intended to solve the various problems that an individual, family, or community may encounter in everyday life. An analysis of these services in their social and cultural contexts reveals fundamental aspects of religious life, as well as their role in explaining and dealing with issues such as diseases, marriage, thefts, and other woes. This paper aims to discuss the use of the Prayers of Saint Basil the Great in dealing with a wide range of problems that can be encountered by a believer. I will focus on the case of a Greek Catholic priest from Blaj (Transylvania) Monastery, who kept a diary about his liturgical activity in the final decades of the 19th century. In the first part of my paper, I intend to examine his records, in order to reveal which were the most required and recommended prayers and rituals, which were the most frequent situations and problems that required the Prayers of Saint Basil the Great, and which were the most frequent combinations of rituals, prayers, and practices either required by the believers, or recommended by the priest himself. Based on the conclusions drawn in the first part, I will discuss the relation between the Prayers of Saint Basil the Great and the complex set of charms and maledictions that, according to folk beliefs and Church tradition, could harm people in various ways and degrees – from a simple disease, or misfortune, to demonic possession and death.

Keywords: Priest, prayers, healing, charms, Transylvania.

On the 23rd of August 1892, Ana Tartiu from Turdasiu told the priest Elie Domşa from Blaj that she cannot sleep and asked him to perform the Prayers of Saint Basil the Great, to read for her the prayer for the one who cannot sleep and to mention her name in 5 Liturgies. On the 31st of January 1893, Maria Darbatu, "60 years old, from Sâncelu, had something inside her and the doctors couldn't heal her. She asked for Saint Basil the Great's prayers. She paid a lot of money". On the 18th of May 1893, the same prayers were asked to be performed for little Saveta

from Ohaba, 2 years old, "who is tiny and does not grow". On the 10th of June 1895, the priest performed the prayers of Saint Basil the Great for Toldi Bardan Zingara din Orăştie who was crazy when getting drunk and beat his wife and kids. On the 12th of October 1897, Ana, wife of Stoica Petru from Maierii, Alba Iulia, asked for Saint Basil the Great's prayers for his husband to leave Anutia, the 13 years old daughter of Lică Ioanu din Panca. On the 18th of November 1897, Ana (46) "asked for the Prayers of Saint Basil the Great because she's afraid of dying." On the 18th of June 1898, the Prayers of Saint Basil the Great were asked to be performed for "Petru Tinca (21) from Cergăul Mare, who is angry with people and with his parents, does not work, does not like to participate in the village dances and parties, but is staying at home and reading all the time".

These quotations are selected from the three notebooks[1] of Father Elie Domşa, which are kept at the Romanian National Archives in Cluj-Napoca. Two of these notebooks cover two decades, between 1887 and 1908, and contain records about prayers and services requested by the believers or recommended to them, by the priest. The notations refer to a wide range of health issues and domestic or social issues faced by the rural and urban population of Blaj and its surroundings, highlighting the role of the priest as healer and mediator of the divine power ascribed to the clergy.[2] This case illustrates the resilience and vitality of the peasant medical culture in an era in which the medicalization of society, as part of the complex process of modernization carried out largely through state intervention, makes significant progress, seeking to spread throughout the social body. The clergy and a series of prayers and church rituals were part of the gallery of healers and medicines specific to pre-industrial European peasant societies, which until late in the nineteenth century did not know doctor or modern medicine.[3]

The analysis of these documents allows the decipherment of both the internal dynamics of the peasant medical culture, that is, the relation with other folk healers, as well as the relations with institutionalised medicine. Many parishioners turned to the priest parallel with recourse to interventions from doctors or having previously resorted to their services. According to the historian Constantin Bărbulescu, "medicalization can only be understood through the grid of opposition

[1] *Carnete de însemnări dintre 1875-1930 despre slujbele cerute de credincioşi; poezii copiate, cheltuieli zilnice* [Booknotes from 1875-1930 about the services requested by believers; copied poems, daily expenses], No. 102 - Fond Biblioteca Centrală Blaj, VIII Acte Culturale, Manuscrise [Blaj Central Library Collection, VIII Cultural Documents, Manuscripts], Romanian National Archives Cluj County. From now on, Ms VIII/102.

[2] "Religion and medicine originally shared a common orientation – both *holiness* and *healing* are words adopted from a common Latin origin meaning *that which must be preserved intact*. Such concepts ensured unity of medicine and faith –physician-priest-philosopher – the curer of bodies and the healer of souls. The delineations between the body, mind, and soul were nonexistent for our forbearers. (...) Most physicians in ancient times were temple priests who *knew* the reasons why things happened in nature, particularly to humanity" (Kurapati, 2018: 41-42).

[3] Bărbulescu, 2015: 301-304.

between the dominant culture and the subordinate culture, and with the birth of modernity the peasant culture becomes and remains to this day subordinate"[4]. Although they are opposite in the context of the process of medicalization of societies, the two medical cultures communicate in different degrees, the peasant society not being isolated from the socio-cultural ensemble of which it was part of.

On the other hand, by examining these notations we can reconstruct concrete fragments of religious life, thus contributing to the expansion of the understanding of the dynamics of vernacular religion and its relation with the field of witchcraft and popular magic. Vernacular religion is religion as it is lived, "as human beings encounter, understand, interpret, and practice it."[5] These notes reflect the place and role of prayers and church services in peasant medical culture and, in many cases, the position as combatant of evil and demonic influences, with which the priest is invested, as a representative of the institutionalized sacred. The importance given to charms and demonic influences in causing health or domestic problems stems primarily from the large number of requests and recommendations for the prayers of Saint Basil the Great and other prayers or services that seek to exorcise demons and counteract the effects of their actions or of witchcraft practices.

The fact that these prayers invested with special power and effectiveness are required or recommended in many cases that do not seem to have an explicit connection with any demonic influence, propels them into the position of a true panacea suitable for solving a wide variety of problems, conditions and situations.

Starting from these notations, in this article I intend to discuss the uses of the prayers Saint Basil the Great and their hypostasis of "medication", strong and effective in combating any disease, suffering or trouble that can harm people. I will start by presenting Father Damian Elia Domșa and his notations, and then I will continue with a quantitative analysis of the parishioners' requests and of the prayers or services performed by the priest, highlighting their weight by categories, out of the desire to provide an overview of his ritual activity reflected by the notations. In the last part, I will focus on the prayers of Saint Basil the Great and

[4] Bărbulescu, 2015: 302.

[5] "Since religion inherently involves interpretation, it is impossible for the religion of an individual not to be vernacular. Vernacular religious theory involves an interdisciplinary approach to the study of religious lives of individuals with special attention to the process of religious belief, the verbal, behavioral, and material expressions of religious belief, and the ultimate object of religious belief. (...) Vernacular religion in relation to a class-structured view of society is neither equatable with popular religion as a religion of the masses, nor should it be juxtaposed to the religion of social leaders or intellectual cognoscenti. The relations of power evident in social divisions of class, economics, race, ethnicity, gender, sexual preference, etc. do profoundly influence communities of religious individuals. The divisions, in fact, are mirrored and often formed by the politics of the religious institution in its internal relations of power. Vernacular religious creativity finds fertile ground to grow as a response to all such social and political environments. In this sense, vernacular religion can develop to contest unequal power relations, to affirm the existence of inequality in the struggle of life, or simply to confirm the social status quo" (Primiano, 1995: 44, 47).

the variety of situations for which they were requested, arguing that their frequency has to do, first of all, with the magical-religious power and efficiency ascribed to them by the believers and by the clergy.

THE PRIEST

Father Damian Elie Domşa was the last monk from the Saint Basil Order (Ordinul Bazilitan), founded in the early eighteenth century, as part of establishing the Greek-Catholic Church (Uniate Church) in Transylvania. Having Saint Basil the Great, who was one of the founders of the Eastern Monachism, as patron saint, this order was imagined as an elite body of the newly established church, combining Eastern monastic tradition with post-Tridentine Catholic reformism and missionary. "They had to be very learned men, both in theological and profane sciences, far inferior to the learned men of the West. Free from material worries, being financed by the secular administration, they were to be propagators of religious and national culture, in writing and orally, among the Romanian people; their mission was to form in the religious and national spirit new generations of priests. Besides, they had to assist the bishop in leading and administering the diocese."[6]

In the approximately two centuries of activity, future hierarchs and intellectual figures such as Gerontie Cotorea, Samuil Clain sau Timotei Cipariu were part of the order, having a fundamental role in developing the educational system and the Romanian culture.

A very succinct biography of the monk Father Elie Damian Domşa is presented in *Dascălii Blajului* (The teachers of Blaj), a book published in 1940 by Nicolae Comşa. Born in 1843, he was educated in Blaj and Beiuş, and became priest in 1878, as we can also see from a few lapidary notations from the documents discussed in this paper. In 1898 he published in Sibiu a translation of *Filotea* by St. Francisc of Salles. The notations from the first years include brief mentions regarding his didactic activity or his activity as a confessor of the students of the theological seminary, where he taught for a short period in 1879-1880 and later on only occasionally.[7] Some of his notes show that he was on familiar terms with the church hierarchy, including the Metropolitan Bishop Ioan Vancea and from 1892 the Metropolitan Bishop Victor Mihaly of Apşa, who resided in Blaj.

From the first notations we learn that his mother died on April 14, 1875, and on February 16, 1879, half a year after he became a monk, his father died also, being buried in the "new" cemetery in Petelca, currently part of the city of Teiuş. On Saint Eliah day, in 1879, he became hieromonk in a ceremony presided over by the

[6] Pop, 1937: 309.
[7] Comşa, 1940, 109.

Metropolitan Ioan Vancea.[8] Until 1887, when notations reflecting interaction with believers began, notes were rare, marking various events, such as the birth of a grandson or the death of a brother-in-law, listening to students, or the consecration of the foundation stone for building of the new clerical seminary in 1883. The first notebook, which is missing a few pages, also includes the transcription of some poems, such as *Dan capitan de plai* by Vasile Alecsandri and a poem about a swallow and *Galileo's Dream* by I. I. Engel. A series of notations shows the record of some expenses made in the context of some trips to Băile Darozék and Reghin. A notation from March 10, 1878 mentions a trip to the doctor Dr. Gras from Sebeș, where he "spent many troubles until Palm Sunday" when he returned to Blaj through Alba Iulia. On May 2 of the same year, he describes a trip to Petelca and complains that he cannot work in the office due to back and eye pain.[9]

Father Elie Damian Domșa died in 1932. One of the obituaries published then in the newspaper *Unirea Poporului* highlights his activity and fame as a healer in a larger area of Transylvania: "Who did not know the Graybeard-Monk? All the students that have studied in Blaj in the last fifty years knew him. All those distressed, ill and helpless knew him, from the villages in the Târnave area, up to Mureș and the mountains. He was also known by the villages on Secaș and beyond, until Sibiu Area. His stole was their source of comfort in despair, shield against hidden pain and true medicine for the innumerable weakness of their body made of sand."[10]

Therefore, despite the popularity among Romanian historians of the theory that explains the continuity and the resilience of the magical-religious practices and beliefs labeled as "superstitions" due to the contribution of the rural-low-educated clergy along with the pressure from the believers, this case shows us that the opposition between a well-educated clergy and a low-educated (mainly rural) clergy could delude us from understanding how vernacular religion works.

THE RECORDS

The notes regarding the services and prayers requested by the believers or recommended to believers in various situations are mostly short and succinct. In most cases, they only mention the name of the persons requesting the priest's services, age, the village/town where they come from, the prayer/ritual requested and the cause for the request. Some cases, especially those involving disease and physical sufferings, domestic violence and love affairs, thefts and charms are a bit more detailed, as you will see from the examples that I intend to present. At the same time, a large number of the notes are even shorter, such

[8] Ms VIII/102, I, 68.
[9] Ms VIII/102, I, 60-73.
[10] Melin, 1932: 1-2.

as: "21st of July 1893, Iulica from Asimpu. Twice the prayers of M.V. (Saint Basil the Great)."[11]

Often, he only mentions one prayer or ritual, but there are also cases when he mentions combinations of prayers and rituals requested by the believers, such as "Anica, Mateiu M.'s wife. The Prayers of Saint Basil. She has abdominal pain. Plus, to be mentioned during 10 Masses. I also did for her the «Number of the Virgin Mary»".[12]

He also mentions when he received money or other products for his services, or he mentions explicitly if a person did not pay. In other cases, he mentions the performance of only the part of the prayer or the service requested. For example, "half of the Saint Nicholas Akhatist for the family" or three prayers that are part of the Holy Unction. However, most frequently such requests concern half of the prayers of Saint Basil the Great, being registered as ½ M.V. A series of notations mentioning the amount paid suggest the existence of tariffs according to which all or only half of the prayers are read: "Oct. 14 1892. Ana from Deva, born in Ciufudu ½ the MV 50." Or "May 23, 1891, Anica Cigana from Darlosu, asks MV 50 rests 50."[13]

The notations that mention payments reflect situations in which the parishioner does not ask for a specific prayer or service but the prayers depend on how much he or she can pay: "June 5, 1901 for Adam Ciurea, 21 years old, *cere o s. Rugăciune de o coroană* [asks for one krone prayer]. The *Paraclisul* [Oratory] of the Virgin Mary". "June 23, 1901 Susana, a child (one year old), cannot walk, she is crooked. To be performed a holy prayer for her, of 50."[14]

There are also situations in which the claimant cannot pay, yet the priest fulfills their request, or cases in which they ask for the full prayers but pay the partial fee or promises to bring the payment another time: "November 21, 1901 Ioan Nemeş, 21 years old from Roşia had a pain in the left side of his body. To be performed ½ MV without paying.[15] (...) November 30, 1908 for Marina Almasiu 3xMV. She promised to pay for it when she can."[16]

The requests can be put into three categories:

1. The person requesting the prayer/services/ritual for herself.

2. The person requesting the prayer/services/ritual for another person, usually for a member of the family.

3. The person requesting the prayer/services/ritual for an enemy or to discover the person who is guilty of something.

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[11] Ms VIII/102, I, 90.
[12] Ms VIII/102, I, 84.
[13] Ms VIII/102, I, 85, 83.
[14] Ms VIII/102, I, 144, 145.
[15] Ms VIII/102, I, 147.
[16] Ms VIII/102, II, 50.

Most of the prayers and services requested and performed were included in the liturgical books, such as the *Molitfelnic*, being part of the official prayers and rituals established by the church. However, his records also mention three type of prayers that belong to the apocryphal heritage of the Eastern Christianity: The Number of Virgin Mary (38), The Belt of Virgin Mary (18) and, The Prayer of Saint Mary the Little, from the Dream of the Virgin Mary, an apocryphal writing very popular among Romanians (1). Valeriu Bălteanu writes about the *Numeruș* (The Number of Virgin Mary), that it is a kind of amulet, a small book written for kids in order to be protected against *evil eye*.[17] The fact that such prayers were performed by this priest allows us to understand the relation between canonical rituals and prayers and the apocryphal ones among clergy and parishioners. In most cases, such prayers were requested along with prayers and services such as the Prayers of Saint Basil, Liturgy or Oratory (*Paraclis*), as we can see in this example: "February 1st, 1904 for Sofia from Blaj, to be performed for her the Prayers of Saint Basil the Great on 12th, the Number of Virgin and the Oratory (Paraclis). On 13th to be read again all these prayers, twice."[18]

Beyond the Church's negative rhetoric and interdictions, there is a constant interaction between church services, prayers, popular magic, and apocryphal writings. In a book published in 1938, Nicolae Cartojan states that the texts contained in the medical folklore manuscripts were deeply Christianized in order to be tolerated by the Church.[19] As I have discussed previously, this process of Christianizing charms and disenchantments was undertaken mainly by priests and monks, for a long time almost the only literate minority of Romanian society.[20] As in the case of charms and disenchantments, the apocryphal writings were copied, transmitted and popularized by the clergy, and later, they were included in the religious books published by the Church.[21]

One last observation concerns the places of origin of the believers and their ethnic and confessional diversity. Villages, such as Veza, Bucerdea,

[17] Bălteanu, 2003: 200.
[18] Ms VIII/102, II, 7.
[19] Cartojan, 1938: 234.
[20] Cosma, 2019: 54-55.
[21] "The first book printed in the Church typography from Alba Iulia in 1639 reveals how the Eastern tradition integrated and perpetuated divinatory and astrological literature up until late in the 19th century. This book is known as *Paraclisul Precistei – Precista's Oratory*, from Govora (1639), because the first text that it comprised is that respective oratory. Alongside *molitvas* (prayers), psalms, catechetic and canonical texts, the book further comprises the *Păscălie*, the *Gromovnic*, and the *Trepetnic*, in a juxtaposition that seems to suggest how, despite the repeated condemnations of divination, astrology, and magic, these writings can rather be categorized as scientific, in the pre-modern sense, in the way that science was accepted/tolerated by the Orthodox Church and perpetuated especially by means of monks and learned priests" (Cosma, 2018: 140-141).

Thiuriu, Ohaba, Cergău, Ciufu, Crăciunel, Iclod, Asimpu and Panade, which were closer to Blaj were the most mentioned. But there were also cases when people arrived from far cities and villages such as Aiud, Berghin, Tătârlaua, Alba Iulia, Deva, Turdasiu, Bia, Micăsasa, Gârbova, Spatacu, Hopârța, Ciumbrud, Spini, Orăștie, Mediaș, Șeica Mare, Sân Martin, Roșia, Glogoveţiu, Roșia, Bălcaciu, Șomfalău, Ocna Sibiului, and even Oradia Mare. The records contain numerous notations regarding services and prayers requested by Hungarians, Szeklers, Roma and Saxons. For example, on August 22nd, 1897, Németh András, employee of the railway company, asked for a liturgy of Saint Anthony to discover who stole his watch and jacket[22] and on November 10th, 1901, Halmen Catarina, married to Seiler Martin from Slimnic, asked for the Prayers of Saint Basil the Great to be performed in order to determine her husband to quit his adulterous love affair with Linerț Catarina.[23] Such examples illustrate the power ascribed to Romanian priests and the magical effects ascribed to the religious services performed by them, over and above ethnic, confessional and social borders. As emphasised by many Hungarian folklorists, Romanian priests have a prominent role in the field of popular magic within the Hungarian and Szekler popular mythology, especially as a healer, bibliomancer and exorcist.[24]

THE PRAYER OF SAINT BASIL THE GREAT AND OTHER CHURCH SERVICES

Given that Christianity is a religion of healing,[25] one of the major roles of a priest, from the early centuries of Christianity, is that of the healer.[26] In order to perform these tasks, we can find a series of rituals, prayers, and ordinances performed by priests, designed to bring healing to soul and body, well established in liturgical literature. *Molitfelnic* or *Efhologhion*[27] is the fundamental book in the Romanian church tradition, as in other Eastern churches, and it includes the rituals, benedictions and prayers that the priest has to perform on different occasions. These rituals, ordinances and prayers are called *ierurgii* or *evlohoghii*,[28] and are much like the "sacramentals" in the tradition of the Roman

[22] Ms VIII/102, I, 115.
[23] Ms VIII/102, I, 146.
[24] Kádár, 2005; Keszeg, 1997: 335-369; Keszeg, 2007: 68-88; Pócs, 2004: 174-190; Komáromi, 1996: 1-2: 87-98; Komáromi, 2010; Czégényi, 2014: 331-414.
[25] Porterfield, 2005: 22.
[26] Lebrun, 1995: 17; Kee, 1987: 9; Daunton-Fear, 2009: 14, 151; Cosma, 2013: 18-19.
[27] For this article I have used *Euhologiu*, 3rd edition, revăzută după originalul grecesc and blessed by the Arch-Bishop and Metropolitan Victor Mihalyi of Apșa (Blaj: 1913).
[28] *Ierurgii*= sacred offices/rituals; *evlohoghii*= prayers or services/rituals with prayer, according to Branişte, 2005: 355.

Catholic Church.[29] Furthermore, this book contains rituals and prayers for various issues and situations: special invocations against enchantments and spells, prayers of exorcisms such as that of Saint John Chrysostom and Saint Basil the Great, other prayers to expel demons and unclean spirits, invocations in case of various diseases for people or animals and rituals for different crises like drought or heavy rainfall.[30] According to Christian tradition, sin is the origin of all diseases and miseries that afflict people.[31] These are also considered divine punishments or effects of demonic attack, enchantments or maledictions, a concept that overlaps with how diseases and misfortunes were explained in popular culture.[32] As Christine D. Worobec stated about Russian and Ukrainian peasants from the Imperial Russia, a closer look at peasant beliefs regarding possession and bewitchment reveals that they followed Orthodox teachings regarding demons and the constant struggle between good and evil, the power of the holy cross, the magical properties of the holy water, the authority of saints, as well as faith healing, exorcisms and prayers.[33]

As you can observe from Table 1, the Prayers of Saint Basil the Great were the most requested prayers in the last decade of the nineteenth century, and in the first decade of the twentieth century. In total, there were 828 requests of the Prayers of Saint Basil the Great during this period, from a total of 1611 requests. They represent more than 50% of the prayers and services requested every year during this period. On the following positions as a number of requests, comes the category of Akathists (193), then the Paraclis/Oratory (125), the Prayer of Undoing of malediction and charms (66), the Liturgy (57), the Psalter (54), The Number of

[29] Teodorescu, 1923: 66.

[30] "To emphasize the importance of this liturgical book in the sacerdotal activity, it is necessary to mention that no other religious book has had more editions than this. (Bejan 1936, 687). The analysis of the editions published from sixteenth century until the beginning of the nineteenth century, preserved at the Library of the Romanian Academy, shows that they do not always contain the same texts, but usually they contain the texts of the church services and rituals important in the life of every Christian as the ordinance of birth, baptism, marriage, confession, enter a monastery, unction, and death; texts of the services regarding certain community feasts as the mass when founding a new church, and the 'Great Blessing of the Waters' during the celebration of Epiphany or Christ's Baptism. Alongside these there were a series of "prayers useful for different things", as the prayer for postpartum female, for midwife, for the woman who lost a child, prayer of blessing a trip or a new house, prayer for purifying wells, salt bowls, oil bowls etc., or quasi healing and apotropaic prayers, for those who cannot sleep, against charms, or for the haunted house. There were also manuscript versions of the *Molitfelnic*, and usually they were different, because they were out of the ecclesiastical control, they were composed according to the needs of the copyist or of its user, and sometimes they contained prayers which are not included in the later issued editions" (Timotin 2011, 10). For a wide discussion on *Molitfelnic*, see Cosma, 2019: 50-58, and Cosma, 2017: 171-175.

[31] Stancu, 2012: 9; Porterfield, 2005: 22; Daunton-Fear, 2009: 15;

[32] Coşbuc, 1909: 12; Stahl, 1983: 207; Olteanu, 1997: 6; Worobec, 2001: 64; Pócs, 2004: 175; Lebrun, 1995: 12; Tătăran, 2016: 122.

[33] Worobec, 2001: 70.

Virgin Mary (38) and the Prayers for the one who cannot sleep (34). Within the category of Akathists, especially in the years beginning with the first decade of twentieth century, the Akathist of Saint Nicholas was the most requested, followed by the Akathist of Saint George. Another important observation concerning the akathists, as you can observe from the table, is that the number of requests grew considerably starting from 1900.

Table 1

Year	The Prayers of Great Basil	Liturgy*	Psalter	Paraclis/Oratory	Undoing of malediction and charms	Prayer for reconciliation enmity	Prayer for the one who cannot sleep	Prayer for any kind of helplessness	Prayer for the one who cannot die	The Number of Virgin Mary	The Belt of Virgin Mary	Akathist Hymn**	Prayers and Rites to course an enemy and/or to discover a thief	Unction	Others	Total
1886						1										1
1887	5			1						1						7
1891	13	3	3	7	1	0	2	1	0	0		2	0	0	1	33
1892	33	7	0	9	3	0	2	0	3	1	1	1	0	1	2	64
1893	45	8	8	7	4	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	1	0	5	82
1894	50	3	6	6	1	0	0	2	0	1	1	0	1	0	6	77
1895	49	1	7	9	1	2	3	2	3	0	0	0	2	2	10	93
1896	53	6	7	7	5	0	1	0	4	1	1	1	3	2	10	101
1897	37	6	4	6	2	2	4	3	0	3	0	2	5	0	6	80
1898	42	2	1	6	3	0	3	0	3	2	0	0	2	1	7	72

1899	49	5	1	5	2	5	1	0	3	1	0	1	0	4	8	85
1900	43	3	3	9	2	2	1		2	5		11	2		1	84
1901	36			8	1	1	1			6		14	1	4	6	78
1902	18		3	6	2	1		1			3	9		4	3	50
1903	14		2	4	3	2					2	7	1	1	2	33
1904	71	1	5	13	8	1	3	1	2	4	1	25		2	1	138
1905	60			6	2		2			1	1	7		1	2	82
1906	53	5	2	3	3		2	1		6	2	30		1	2	110
1907	50	4	1	5	7	3	3	2	1	1	2	28		2	4	113
1908	55	2	1	4	12	7	3	2		2	2	29	2	2	2	125
1909	52	1		4	4	2	3	2		2	1	26	2	1	3	103
Total	828	57	54	125	66	29	34	17	23	38	18	193	22	28	81	1611

* It includes two categories of requests regarding the Liturgy: 1. the performance of a Liturgy for those who request. 2. to be mentioned during Liturgy.

** The most requested Akathists, by the number of requests, were the Akathist of Saint Nicholas, the Akathist of Saint John the Baptizer, the Akathist of Saint George, the Akathist of Santa Barbara, the Akathist of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, and the Akathist of the Holy Archangels.

A special category of requests is that of prayers and rites to curse an enemy and/or to discover a thief. There are 22 requests for such services, but in many

cases, believers asked for the Prayers of Saint Basil the Great or the Akhatist of Saint Nicholas in order to discover thieves or persons guilty of homicide or other crimes, as we can see from the following examples: "On 15th of December 1904, Theodor Bunea Căpâlna, did not live well with his wife Ona Buneathe Akhatist of Saint Nicholas and a prayer to find out who hurt him."[34] "On 19th of September 1904, Anica Burnete, employed at the confectionery, lost a golden ring and a pair of scissors. To discover the thief. MV (The Prayers of Saint Basil the Great)"[35] "On 30th of June 1904, Rosdasiu Danca and Rosdasiu Petre from Ciugudul de Sus asked for the Akhatist of Saint Nicholas in order to discover his son's killers. 3 orphan children and a widow. Both are gypsy (Roma)."[36]

From the second table we can observe which are the most common problems mentioned by the believers when they are requesting the Prayers of Saint Basil the Great or other prayers and rituals. Beyond the 645 notations, which do not mention a cause for the request, the category of Health issues and physical disabilities are providing the highest number of requests (180), followed by the category of Domestic life, alcohol, violence and social conflicts (108), insomnia, bad dreams, hallucinations and trembles (60), and then the category of Demonic possession/Charms and maledictions (33). Gathered together, the category of Health issues and physical disabilities, with Mental disorder (29) and Insomnia, bad dreams, hallucinations and trembles, there are 269 requests that deal with medical issues. This fact highlights the importance of the thaumaturgical function attributed to the priest, as well as the services and prayers performed by him, even if at the beginning of the twentieth century modern medicine and the public medical system made significant progress compared to previous eras, becoming more accessible to the population. The doctor and midwives are becoming more and more familiar, especially in urban areas, providing the population with access to specialized medical care.[37] The recourse to the priest for medical care has to do both with the limited access to specialized doctors for a large part of the rural population, and with the resilience of a worldview that understood healing and diseases as part of a system based on amalgamation of "many different systems of thought", mixing religion and witchcraft, pagan and Christian, and learned and popular notions.[38] On the other hand, the notations also shows cases in which people use both types of medical services, as can be seen from these two examples: "Nov. 2nd, 1903, for Niculiță from Cricău, who has a severe headache and spent a lot on doctors from Alba Iulia and Teiuș, to be done the Prayer of Saint Basil the Great and an Undoing of Charms and Maledictions"[39] "Nov, 16th, 1903 Sinefta

[34] Ms VIII/102, II, 19.
[35] Ms VIII/102, II, 17.
[36] Ms VIII/102, II, 14.
[37] Bogătean, 2013.
[38] Bever, 2008: 274.
[39] Ms VIII/102, II, 1.

Rusu married to Simu from Monor, 52 years old, mother without kids, has a swelling on her chest, which the doctor could not cure. She asked for the Prayers of Saint Basil the Great and the Belt of the Virgin Mary."[40]

Father Domşa's cultural horizon intersects the two medical cultures, both as a patient, attending doctors for various medical problems, and as a healer, as evidenced by the diagnoses he makes to some of his "patients". In his notations, he alternates or combines modern medical language with peasant magical-religious medical language, terms such as *călcătură* (tread),[41] *lovit de vânt* (hit by the wind),[42] *agâmbă* (dizzy) or *smintit* (crazy) sharing the same pages with terms such as "epilepsy" or "menstruation".

In approximately twenty years there were only 4 cases which involve the performance of the Prayers of Saint Basil the Great for demonic possession explicitly mentioned, along with other 4 cases which requested the "Prayers for those bewildered and oppressed by Unclean Spirits" and one case when a Psalter is asked "for Mihailă, who is haunted by bad spirits." The Prayers of Saint Basil the Great are twice requested also against charms, "for Gligoru Onica, the Prayers of Saint Basil the Great twice. He is 60 years old and is from Sâncel. His daughter did some charms upon him," and "for the young Ioan Irimie, twenty years old, from Panade, who was charmed again."

Table 2

Year	1886	1887	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	Total
No specifi-cation		5	7	27	37	43	36	34	18	18	20	25	32	3	19	57	24	70	73	50	47	645
Domestic life, alcohol & violence, social conflicts	1		1	1	2			4	5	3	1	5	9	3	5	18	5	5	8	16	16	108
Insomnia /bad dreams, hallucinat ions, trembles			2	2	2	1	3	3	3	4	8	3	6	1	1	7	2	2	4	3	3	60
Mental disorder		2		1		1	3			2	2	1	2	2	2	5		3	2	1		29

[40] Ms VIII/102, II, 2.

[41] Sick of *călcătură* means epileptic, according to Bob, 1821: 121.

[42] "The winds spread the disease around the world, many people hit by the wind remain with bone disease all their lives" according to Gherman, 2002: 105.

Health issues and physical disabilities		2	3	1	4	5	8	11	10	12	17	8	24	3	5	27	3	12	7	12	6	180
Annoyances, losses				1								1	4		1	6	1	9	1	4	2	32
Demonic possession/-Charms and maledictions								1	1		1		1	1	3	8		3	5	5	1	33

Besides the requests to solve domestic problems such as violent husbands and inter-generational tensions, there are some cases when the Prayers of Saint Basil the Great are requested to solve problems caused by love affairs: "Marisca from Asimpu asks for the Prayers of Saint Basil the Great to be performed upon her husband János and A. Zsusza from Aiud, with whom he is living in Hopîrța."[43] "On 10th of May 1900, Michaila Vintila, 30 years old, has a relationship with Maria Rotariu, who has 3 kids and is separated from her husband, because he also started an illicit relationship with another woman. The Prayers of Saint Basil the Great to be performed in order to separate them, because Michaila's father has been sick for 13 years, laying in bed, and the household is pledged to Maria, his custodian, for 200 f."[44]

If such cases could be connected to the idea that the issues were provoked by the devil or by charms, which justify the request of such prayers, there were cases when the priest described rituals that could be labeled as "black magic" or harmful magic, as we can see in this example: "On the 4th of April 1897, Floare Moldovanu from Făgărașiu brought 4 candles tied with black in their middle, because Șandor George left her pregnant but now is getting married with another woman in Alba Iulia."[45]

There were also a few situations when church services were perverted into harmful magic, as in these two cases: "Johan Fleps from Bălcaciu, to be cursed due to his many sins. A Liturgy." and "Upon Ștefan C., Ceterașiu Marișca, Mailatu Vuia, Pozsonyi Fira and Pozsonyi Lina, to be cursed through reading the Psalter."[46]

[43] Ms VIII/102, I, 123.
[44] Ms VIII/102, I, 135.
[45] Ms VIII/102, I, 121.
[46] Ms. VIII/102, I, 101.

Such practices, as I have discussed at length in the paper *Curses, Incantations and the Undoing of Spells: The Romanian Priest as Enchanter (Transylvania, 19th Century)*, emphasize the ambiguity of the sacred, and illustrates the power ascribed to the priest, to bless or to curse, to heal or bring down diseases and misfortune. The priest actively participates in the popular witchcraft system; he can steer away, or bring about, ill fate.[47] Paying the priest to read the Psalter could be used as a mean of punishing rivals or enemies, as we see in the fragment presented above, or in the case of Sava Oniga from Geoagiu de Sus, who, on the 3rd of November 1896, requested a Psalter on Antoniu and Nicolae, because they brought her to trial.[48] In these cases, priests act more as an enchanter and the rituals and prayers performed by him are closer to the category of witchcraft, than religion, as described by the Christian doctrine and the Church normative discourse.

CONCLUSIONS

Feared due to their reputation as the strongest weapon in fighting demons and unclean spirits, the Prayers of Saint Basil the Great were requested by the believers or recommended by the priest for a wide range of issues, such as health issues, insomnia, mental illness, charms, or domestic violence, because it was perceived as a strong "medicine", a panacea for physical, psychological, spiritual and social issues. The same disease or issue could be also treated with different prayers or services, and not just because people were asking different prayers, but also because in many situations when the believer asked the priest to read a prayer/to perform a service that the priest considered to be adequate for the issue, he did not recommend the same prayer. Usually, he recommended the Prayers of Saint Basil the Great, as if it were his specialty, as a member of the order of Saint Basil the Great. Even if according to the Eastern tradition all priests were entitled to perform exorcism, the monks and old priests were usually those who accepted to engage in this ritual in order to expel demons, due to the belief that such an action required experience and involved the risk of becoming the target for the demons expelled from those previously possessed by them. But, as we noticed from his notations, the Prayers of Saint Basil the Great were not read just in cases of demonic possession.

Father Domşa did not write anything about the magical/illicit/malefic aspect of some requests, and there is only one case in his notations when he mentions a refusal to perform the prayers, without any explanation. The fact that people from far cities and villages (Oradia Mare, Deva, Alba Iulia, Făgăraş, Bergin etc.), of different confessions and nationalities, travelled to Blaj in order to ask for Father Domşa's services, allows us to conclude that he

[47] Pócs, 2004: 174.
[48] Ms. VIII/102, I 111.

was well known for his activity. His activity and popularity reflect the central role played by the priests and church services in the field of magic and witchcraft as part of the peasant medical culture.[49]

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VIEWPOINTS ON THE CURRENT RESEARCH IN ROMANIAN FOLKLORISTICS

SABINA ISPAS

ABSTRACT

The paper summarizes some of the main ideas, standpoints and contributions of the author in her 55-years career as academic researcher, expert and manager in the study of traditional culture. Romanian institutions and research projects are surveyed, elements pertaining to fundamental research, historical continuity and contemporary innovation in means and methods are tackled. Criticism or dissatisfaction with some current interventions are expressed, too.
Keywords: folk culture, Romanian folklore studies, academic research, literary folkloristics, "Constantin Brăiloiu" Institute of Ethnography and Folklore.

In the last two centuries, many folkloric creations and items, published in periodicals or in separate volumes, have been spread all over Romania. Poetry or prose, ritual or non-ritual songs have been circulating together with information about customs, traditions, "beliefs", etc. – sometimes adjusted or "arranged" by some intellectuals involved in identifying and defining the "Romanian specificity". These items are usually considered to be forms of expression representative for "the peasants' culture". (It is worth mentioning that in the first half of the 20th century, there were more people living in rural areas than in urban ones.)

Besides, at that time great, artists relied heavily on traditional culture for their inspiration. This segment of our national culture, i.e. the folklore – we use this term in its wide meaning, as we have defined it in many previously published studies[1] – has been part of the Romanian people's life in different forms: from the direct, genuine expressions well-known and used daily by every person, no matter their job, gender, age, origin, to the great creations (musical, literary, visual, choreographic, etc.) appeared as a result of the integration of traditional folk values into the personal information of creators from various areas whose works targeted a cultivated elite.

[1] Ispas 1992, 1993, 2000a, 2000b, 2002, 2003, 2004-2005.

Therefore, within a time frame covering approximately four generations, a Romanian cultural "model" was defined and imposed by great personalities – having social, cultural, political, and economic authority – who selected and carefully organised the components accepted as representative national values. This is how the "great myths" were born (the terms are used metaphorically or allegorically, by no means with their technical meaning). Scholars have written a lot on this topic and identified few reference elements which, taken out of the original context, have become "identity marks": *doinas*, the ballads and the heroic songs, some elements of the traditional clothing worn during important days, the woollen carpet decorated with traditional motifs, clay and wooden pieces, parts of traditional food, living, etc.

For more than a hundred and fifty years, folklore (the profound traditional culture) was approached tenderly and respectfully, from a rather "romantic" perspective. Some of the intellectuals sometimes idealised or read through their scholarly filters, traditions, customs, beliefs, literary, musical or choreographic folkloric facts, without considering their deeper meaning conveyed by the genuine community of creators and beneficiaries. The advantage of this effervescent movement, which highlighted the general interest in "traditional culture", was the impressive number of documents created according to scientific methods, more and more rigorous. Moreover, there were some scholars, mainly philologists, historians, geographers, who got specialised and started to work closer to the European academic world. Folkloristics and ethnography, followed by ethnomusicology, found a particularly fertile land for appearance and development[2].

Nowadays, the Romanian ethnologists would not only complete the *outsiders'* approach on the *culture of the locals* living in a clearly defined area, such as the one analysed, interpreted and organised in the last decades of the previous millennium, but they could also help decipher many subtleties, meanings and significances that can be "read" only by those who know the Romanian oral culture system, seen as a whole. Consequently, the present studying and approaches of the folkloric facts should be done from a syncretic perspective, characteristic to traditional oral culture (language syncretism), ethnological research undoubtedly being interdisciplinary.

In the new millennium, the folk-like culture in Romania has similar conditions as the ones at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th. Back then, the most solid and active components of Romanian tradition were identified and accepted. These elements were selected and exploited, mainly by the ideological and political elites, in order to highlight the national identity. (The 19th century was called *the century of nations.*)

[2] All the phases previous to contemporary ethnological research in Romania should be presented in the reference studies created back then, and also translated into foreign languages. We strongly recommend bilingual volumes, thus preserving the dignity of national language which should be used any time Romanian specialists argue their points of view, Romania being one of the official languages of European Union.

A similar programme, prioritising the preservation of those components of traditional culture identified as specific marks of Romanian identity – local, regional –, should be started and applied nowadays, when well-articulated cultural globalisation uses powerful mass communication reaching far and wide. (The "heritage law" or "code" is not only insufficient, but also unusable, considering that their issuing is a mechanic activity, handling a legal language rather far from the diversity of a country's types, styles, means of expression, areas, etc. of heritage.)

Remarkable research academic plans, conceived and applied in the 20th century, led to the appearance of some work tools fundamental for folkloristic, ethnomusicology, ethno-choreology, ethnography, created according to internationally accepted academic norms.

We would like to mention here typologies organised on genres and species and published in *Colecția națională de folclor* (CNF) [The National Folklore Collection (NFC)], *Atlasul etnografic român* (AER) [Romanian Ethnographic Atlas (REA)] and series such as *Documente etnografice* (DER) [Romanian Ethnographic Documents (RED)], *Bibliografia generală a etnografiei și folclorului românesc* [General Bibliography of Ethnography and Folklore], *Sinteze teoretice* [Theoretical Synthesis] (Treatise in ethnology) etc., a total of approximately 60 volumes, beside numerous anthologies (literary, sonorous or visual) and two periodical publications of national and international impact: "Revista de etnografie și folclor/Journal of Ethnography and Folklore" și "Anuarul Institutului de Etnografie și Folclor «Constantin Brăiloiu»" [The Yearbook of the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore «Constantin Brăiloiu»]. (The works mentioned have been published by the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore, but there are also valuable publications of the Academic Institutes in Cluj and Iași, as well as of universities, museums and other cultural centres, or those published by independent specialists.)

In the last decades of the last century, nationally acclaimed scholars and prestigious foreign ones published several books on Romanian traditional culture: Gail Kligman (*Călușul. Symbolic Transformation in Romanian Ritual*, 1981; *The Wedding of the Dead. Ritual, Poetics and Popular Culture in Transylvania*, 1988), Jean Cuisenier (*Memoire des Carpathes. La Roumanie millénaire, un regard intérieur*, 1998), etc.

The most important and well-organised documentary sources are the multimedia funds sheltering cultural documents, known as folklore and ethnographic archives, which have been storing sound, image and manuscript sources in the last one hundred years, recorded on different types of carriers. We are referring to the Archive of the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore "C. Brăiloiu", in Bucharest, the Folklore Archive of the Romanian Academy, in Cluj-Napoca, and the Archive of

Moldova and Bucovina, within the Romanian Philology Institute "Al. Philippide", in Iaşi. Documents were created considering language syncretism, a *sine qua non* characteristic of folklore[3].

The existence of these documents and of the archives preserving them places Romania among the European cultural areas with their specific identity well-represented by academically constituted sources.

Beside these cultural storage places – internationally called archives – designed and set-up according to rigorous international principles and methods, we should also mention some local collections put together by entities in charge of organising and guiding culture, as well as the collections gathered by some Romanian universities, some of them being stored in specialised "labs". From the very beginning, the latter had an education role. Professors – lecturers, assistants – would go on field research campaigns together with their students to teach them the methods and techniques necessary for creating folklore documents (documents containing folkloric information), then processed in workshop papers or dissertations, in scientific conferences or in other occasions.

The students' lack of experience – even if their coordinator was very competent – and the fact that they could not possibly be familiar with the multi-levelled system of the traditional culture, with its variants and specific types, warn us to be cautious when using some of these sources in academic research. Without ignoring the importance of the collections which are different from what is internationally considered to be "a multimedia folklore archive", we should still need to emphasise the difference in documentary value, authenticity, thoroughness, complexity and scientific approach. Naturally, some exceptional documents could be found in such collections, documents done by renowned specialists, especially those who were teaching in those institutions. Yet, this does not mean that we should be less exigent when assessing the quality of the documents archived.

In the recent years, the innovative "enthusiasm" related to the methods used for collecting and processing data, the highly sophisticated digital devices, the will to follow different research trends and movements, especially western ones, as well as the need to "pay tribute" to some artificially induced cultural "complexes"

[3] "We use the term *folklore* with a technical meaning and include here the entire spiritual culture of a community, orally transmitted, where literature, music, dance, beliefs, folk medicine, juridical norms, behavioural rules are accompanied by verbalised forms of traditional science referring to occupations, crafts, organising the space, building techniques, etc. In Romania, specialists also use this concept with a narrow meaning, referring to traditional and contemporary spiritual creation manifesting itself in literature, music, traditional dance. In some situations, *folklore* also means the phenomenon and the discipline studying it, namely folkloristic" (Ispas 2009: 1). In other cultures, folklore is mainly considered to be the shows and festivals which exploit traditional elements. Lately, this approach has also been used in Romania, especially in mass media discourse which influences and "imposes" meanings, which are most of the time incorrect, inappropriate, influencing the public due to the authority of these communication means.

related to the results of local research, several analyses and studies, based on various types of collections, have been published. In our opinion, the result is an ambiguous discourse which has no place in the domain of folkloristics – the ethnological area less and less favoured by students and their professors – or in academic ethnology, the least of all in the area of cultural and social anthropology. The exaggerated interest in "context" eliminated the "text" (which should be placed at the heart of the folkloric phenomenon) from the attention of the new studious ones, thus depriving the research of an important part, representing its very substance.

The "interview method" leads to the creation of some "pseudo-texts" associated to certain categories of traditional culture, favoured by the young people willing to do ethnological studies, but not to the creation of "document-texts" useful in academic research[4]. We believe that it is the time for those willing to study the oral culture facts to go back to the text, to revisit philological information and to recover the information gathered by folkloristics in the 20th century.

Next, we are going to identify only some of the main tasks that the ethnological domains have in modern times. The most important ones would be the updating of the previous research in order to identify (to search and find), recover (acceptance) and set some identity landmarks within the contemporary context (according to the specificity of the world in the 3rd millennium), their acknowledgement as well as certifying them as national labels and marks in order to be included in the national heritage. Beside their dissemination nation-wide and world-wide (by means of international organisations focused on studying and protecting world's cultures), these identity landmarks should also be part of the processes meant *to update and modernise the perception of the contemporary ethnic cultures*.

The modern multi-media techniques are to be used to record new folkloric phenomena, cultural structures undergoing mutations within the family-related customs, the calendar-related ones or the religious events, expressed through all types of language (words, music, movement, image, etc.). The "festivalisation of the daily life", in specialists' words, refers to the removal of the sacred components and the development, repurpose or recreating those contexts and festive actions associated with some historical or administrative events, where some traditional forms are "exploited", being given different functions and other effects than the specific ones manifested so far. At the same time, "performers" are given different parts, functions, and qualities, thus becoming substitutes for the genuine ones. Space and time become so flexible that they alienate the performers from traditional values associated with the sacred element.

[4] The series published by Finnish Academy of Science, "Folklore Fellows Communication", as well as "Fabula" and "Béaloideas. The Journal of the Folklore of Ireland Society" are great examples of academic studies on folkloric texts.

It seems that, in Romania, this "game" of rethinking and repurposing the traditional system, is one of the most active phenomena, a very powerful one, involving large segments of people and having long-term deep effects. The specific means of festivals could also be identified in demonstrations with political character which, under the sign of "social game" and with the help of cutting-edge communication technology, facilitate contacts and exchanges of ideas – conveying some and discrediting other. Following the folkloric pattern, the formalised messages become "slogans" easy to remember and pass on. All these events are part of folk performances.

The changes in the quality of performers lead to an easily noticeable social-professional, age and gender diversity, which eliminates the rules they used to have during a ritual, within a traditional pattern.

More difficult would be to unravel and analyse the effects of specific techniques used in folkloristic research, of the mechanisms behind, involving cutting-edge technology. We should remember that, at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century, the domain of folkloristics owed its evolution and performances to the very development of recording technology. Therefore, the "updated and modernised" techniques specific to oral, folk cultures, should be documented and stored, thus being able to follow the way the new cultural (sometimes ethnical) labels and signs are designed so that to be accepted.

The official message recommends collaboration and respect for ethnical values and "cultural diversity", expressed in all its forms and nuances. Yet, when objectively observing local, regional, continental or world-wide events, one can notice a more and more obvious and articulated tendency to represent, exploit, preserve and adopt ethical identities within the frame of a "competition" not totally strange to seizing a wider authority, at the above-mentioned levels.

For properly, correctly and efficiently understanding Romanian identity it is necessary to internationally spread – in translations and published materials – the local research done in the last one hundred years, following the two reference complementary segments of the specialists' activity (folklorists, ethnomusicologists, ethno-choreologists, ethnographers): documents discovery – creation and the theoretical studies. This activity would also entail the selection and publishing of some representative documents, stored in valuable funds, delivered as printed volumes or e-books (anthologies of genres, species, music and image albums, etc.), as well as publishing a volume of Romanian academic theoretical studies representative for the four ethological domains.

A priority in preserving and protecting traditional culture with all its profound structures, compliant with its fundamental network of systems, is to foster the interest of decisional factors in order to create some *complex protected areas*. Several elements should be considered: the geographic area and its

characteristics, the history of the place – type of inhabiting, production activities, including the pre-industrial ones, peasants' engineering, etc. traditional "scientific" knowledge related to household industry, traditional medicine, systems of beliefs and customs, language, musical, choreographic structures, generic and categorial systems, art, behaviour, juridical rules and, certainly, the bearers, transmitters and creators, people who know and use the entire system of Romanian traditional values.

In order *to avoid the loss*, in today's Romanian culture, of *the specificity, role and authority of folklore* – one of the most representative identity factors, a careful and clear *long-term safeguard plan* should be drawn up in collaboration with experienced and well-prepared specialists in all ethnological domains. In order to really "safeguard" it, it is necessary to put a stop to the crass confusion – maintained and presented by mass-media – between the genuine, present, real phenomenon and the folklore or folklore-inspired shows, staged by more and more varied entities (touristic, political, administrative, etc.) interested in attracting the sympathy and, consequently, the participation of large groups of population. Beside these shows, there are also those creations which "are inspired by" or "work on" elements of traditional culture, then conveyed as "folklore", especially for financial gain.

The results of the research referring to the relationship between genuine folklore and consumption folklore, between the oral cultural phenomenon (folklore) and mass-media (radio and TV), and between oral cultures and the internet and social media should bring forward the long-term effects, as well as the explanation for the mechanisms behind current behavioural mutations, the actions needed, fundamental concepts, ideologies, etc. It is imperative to identify the future research topics for specialised institutions. Therefore, the rigorous and objective results obtained are to be used for future national strategies meant to support, preserve and popularise the cultural phenomena we are talking about. (In the 20th century, the specialists, following the activity and research plans of some important institutions – Romanian Academy, Ministry of Instruction, museums – managed to offer the Romanian culture and specialised literature, modern research work highly valuable today.)

For planning and achieving this objective specialised research teams are needed, teams especially prepared for such a task – to have knowledge of and use Romanian and foreign specialised information, to use modern techniques in creating, organising, preserving documents, etc. At the same time, a group of researchers should work on the sources in multi-media archives. (Any research group needs at least two specialists in each field: folkloristics, ethnomusicology, ethno-choreology, ethnography, recording, preserving techniques, etc.) Specialised groups of researchers are to belong to stable institutional structures, in order to

ensure the coherence and quality of their work, the continuity of scientific approach and the ability to handle all the funds sheltered by the "cultural deposits", those structures meant to preserve immaterial heritage documents.

These teams have some precise tasks: on the one hand, to maintain the contact with the past methods and documents, and on the other hand, to identify the innovation processes in all their current specificity. (An obvious and important example is found in "street" manifestations, diverse but still convergent, which belong to the above-mentioned process of daily life "festivalisation", based on folkloric mechanisms, yet shaping a type of third-millennium "folkloric person", not unacquainted with the globalisation offer of strong financial and ideological powers.)

A priority task refers to completing the publishing of fundamental work tools (in manuscript stored in special funds in Romanian Academy's institutes and in other cultural institutions), together with the essential need to create new such syntheses, due to the processes, the dynamics and the content of contemporary folklore (part of contemporary audio-visual culture).

The creation of the first anthologies containing representative material for Romanian traditional culture (the publishing of exceptional novel variants sheltered by multimedia cultural archives) translated into foreign languages and accompanied by a critical apparatus would be a late completion of a task started in the 19th century, continued when possible in the 20th century, and in need to be updated and modernised nowadays. A bilingual edition of the unpublished archive material organised in series following several criteria (geographical, functional, genre-based, species-based, on categories or themes, etc.), observing the functional syncretism characteristic to folklore, would eliminate the less valid reading of the Romanian traditional culture and its spiritual features, of the specificity of its creators. Therefore, a bilingual volume would fill the knowledge gaps and clarify confusions.

This is a mainly oral culture, thus irreversible – after its creation (performing) – and unrepeatable. Although the ritual components are stronger, the present context mentioned above speeds up its entrance into the passive fund. The preservation and safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage stored in the Romanian Academy's archives, with the help of modern technologies, became not only a mandatory task, but also a moral responsibility for the Romanian ethnic profile. The evolution, the type of progress accepted and practiced, the positioning towards the "others", towards the environment and the universe, the continuity and unity at the level of the spiritual creation are all enciphered in this heritage – tangible and intangible – which should be carefully stored, preserved, restored, and, in time, exploited. In order to protect these unconventional archives, a nation-wide plan should be considered.

The multimedia folklore and ethnography archives should keep on updating the existing databases. In order to offer a reference point to the creation of modern-world folklore forms, it is of utmost importance to rekindle the interest in the genuine phenomenon. The information the Romanian people should acquire is to be structured in such a way so as to help them be aware of the differences between folklore-like consumption culture (TV shows, stage shows, crafts, etc.) and the genuine one, active in traditional communities.

For clarifying, the messages related to the meanings and functions of the folkloric texts (used with its technical significance – different languages) should be updated by critical discussions and by re-approaching the previous studies dedicated to Romanian folklore. Such training includes a nation-wide educational component, hence the need to reintroduce the study of traditional culture in schools. The university curriculum (the knowledge foundation for the future teachers, in all ethnological domains) is to be reconsider in order for the students to have access to specialised theoretical information. This could be done by the joint effort between the specialists in the research Institutes belonging to the Romanian Academy and the professors teaching in Romanian universities. An endeavour of such magnitude requires the interest of decisional factors that will work together with the specialists in the Romanian Academy to reintroduce theoretical ethnological knowledge (related to folkloristic, ethnomusicology, ethno-choreology, ethnography) in pre-university curriculum. Students' ability to study and practice traditional culture knowledge is to be developed in some dedicated "labs" similar to the ones used in physics, chemistry, biology.

Due to ideological reasons, a few decades ago some topics were either eliminated from institutionalised research (the study of sacred spaces, the relation between religion and oral expression of traditional culture, folk medicine considered to be witchcraft, or belonging to the "occult", etc.) or placed among those of minor interest (sports, games, communication and transport means, their marking and organising, children's games, etc.). Moreover, research should include other segments which have not necessarily been approached so far. Therefore, the "system of systems" which represents the traditional oral culture will be enhanced and completed with new information.

To add new information to the analytical approaches in ethnological research, the unpublished archive material is to be published bilingually in series following several criteria (geographical, functional, genre-based, species-based, on categories or themes, etc.), observing the functional syncretism characteristic to folklore, thus offering documents published according to academic rules and norms and giving an accurate image of the genuine phenomena with their specific functions, meanings, and roles.

In order to draw a real image of Romanian traditional culture (folklore), subject to rapid changes of paradigm and increasingly necessary at the beginning of the third millennium, when the ethnic specificity is again among the main interests of some peoples and cultural areas in the modern world, it is highly urgent to publish bilingual volumes containing reference studies signed by reputed Romanian ethnologists, accompanied by critical apparatus.

The folklore and ethnography funds' enhancement, updating, preserving should be a permanent task for a category of specialists involved in the study of current oral culture. Migration, circulation of work force around the world, to countries closer or further from people's birth places, lead to a new set of issues dramatically different from those encountered by the previous generations of ethnologists.

An important chapter of future research will be the Romanian folk expressions identified and collected in diaspora communities, in order to discover the place held by traditional culture in these people's life. For a coherent and objective plan meant to identify and record the Romanian folkloric facts performed in the Romanian communities living abroad, it is necessary first to be settled and accepted a fundamental system of Romanian traditional culture, the skeleton giving coherence to scientific research. The published result of some authors' interest, more or less familiarised with the folkloric phenomenon, does not look like an articulated methodical data collection or like a coherent approach to these varied processes. The study of the Romanian diaspora's folklore requires high complexity debates involving experienced specialists, proper time and space, and the presence of those able to convey correct and useful information to ethnologist.

There are many categories of emigrants, structured according to numerous principles and reference points for creating typologies. Each category needs different approach and study techniques. The study of folklore – main ethnic identity landmark – in diaspora communities is one of the most urgent and important tasks in the first half of the new millennium. A true national strategy targeting different categories of Romanian emigrants, could not be correctly and effectively shaped unless it handles information related to the way folklore is perceived in those communities. Only after obtaining enough data on this subject, could an objective study start.

A similarly complex topic is the study of folkloric expressions used by the Romanian culture bearers living around the country's borders. Richer in information and in systematic reference studies, this component of nowadays Romanian folklore offers many other research perspectives, aiming at the preservation of reference points in identifying the Romanian roots of people living in those areas. To continue the past interest in the Romanian communities in the south of the Danube, for

example, the contemporary specialists should have solid knowledge in history, dialectology, sociology, geography, arts and crafts, transport, etc.

Equally important is the influence of extra-community factors (on traditional folkloric communities), i.e. NGOs, foundations or other structures which come up with "development", "reorganisation", or rural work force exploitation strategies, thus changing the features, specificity, particularities of a bigger or smaller cultural area[5]. Such "associations of people with common ideas and interests, acting and being organised according to a set of rules or a statute" (DEX – Romanian Language Explicative Dictionary) focused on traditional culture or only on some of its forms of expression, could somehow support the preservation of some heritage values, but more often they could distort, recreate hybrid, fake forms of this culture, thus conveying meaning, perspectives, perceptions incompatible with this segment of Romanian knowledge and creativity. Of all the structures interested and involved in the pseudo-preservation of traditional culture, some of these NGOs could have negative, even destructive effects. Therefore, it is necessary to discuss the activities of the numerous structures belonging to this category.

A similar threat is posed by the groups of scholars, researchers and specialists trained in social disciplines. Using statistics, figures and other cultures' patterns, learnt in libraries, they know the social "experiences" they want to "transfer" to Romanian cultural area – inside and outside the borders. These thorough "lab" workers are not used to the diversity of the personalities within traditional communities or just ignore it, minimising the authority they had and, sometimes, still have on Romanian traditional pattern. In other words, that "arrogance" mentioned on other occasions is present in many social projects which do not start from understanding the diverse typology of people living in nowadays Romanian communities. The standard imposed by the studies signed by the specialists who disregard people's personality and their diversity could only eliminate from the equation of modernisation the real value of this society, namely people themselves. In order to avoid the unwanted effects leading to the loss of national identity, the designers of Romania's future – of Romanians living here or abroad – are to get acquainted with the results of ethnological research.

There are some urgent ethnological approaches which should be considered top priority: to complete the main archive projects aiming at the preservation (of the support and of the content) and the protection of the documents against identified destructive factors, to update and publish (in Romanian and in a foreign language) those pieces of great value, to update and enhance the database in accordance with today's requirements, to organise (according to the rules and norms specific to ethnological domains) the oral culture documents created in the

[5] For example, *World Vision Romania Foundation* organised the conference *Made in Rural – Oportunități de ocupare și antreprenoriat pentru spațiul rural* [Opportunities for occupation and entrepreneurship in rural area], weirdly mixing Romanian and English words, no advantage for either of the two languages, or for the content, very ambiguously presented from the very beginning.

first decades of the 3rd millennium – in order to ensure the continuity, development and evolution of research and indexing methods, to write theoretical studies focused on defining the identity specificity of the bearers of Romanian traditional culture in the first decades of the 3rd millennium.

The offer the Romanian ethnology has, in both theoretical studies and in genuine documents, could favourably reposition Romania by highlighting its contribution to world's traditional cultural heritage. Having existed for a long period of time and having a remarkable system coherence, Romanian culture easily accepted and adjusted the innovations of the 20th century, without losing its roots and without significant traumas. On the other hand, it preserved an ecological component, protecting both nature and human creation.

In the last 25 years, due to multiple technical, cultural, communication offers, the coherent system mentioned above has suffered some fractures and caused the appearance of unstable units, mixing traditional elements with segments which have not been totally assimilated. The result is an agglomeration which not only look, but most of the time is chaotic.

In order to organise it from inside and rewrite some structures representative of the current world, the results of the ethnological domains, as well as the valuable documents should be made available, in an accessible condensed form (yet, not mediocre popularisation) and in a modern language, thus acting as reference points. Recovering the identity landmarks should be doubled by discovering present phenomena and the expression forms. All of them are to be well known by the specialists and bearers of other cultures. All the points of the long-term project are of utmost importance especially in the context of very active and widely encouraged processes of culture and group identity *revival, reinvention, rewriting, reinterpreting*, specific to the modern world.

"Folklore could be illicitly or illegally disseminated for ideological or political manipulation, could be used as propaganda for conveying well-targeted, treacherous messages, by falsifying and changing original meanings from outside. There could be psychological, ideological, political effects in the long-term, creating many types of conflicts"[6].

It is highly recommended that the processes of tradition festivalisation be monitored, as their result is meaningless, standardised, superficial, functionally distorted, unfairly exploited forms.

"Modern technology is both an ally for those collecting and creating documents of profound culture, and an aggressor for the traditional pattern, a «threat» for those folkloric species which do not cater for the needs of the modern

[6] Vlad 2015: 389. Some of the opinions presented in this study also are found in the chapter *Cultura românească între național, localizare în zona proximă și universal – Europa multingvistă, cultura electronică*, domeniul *Etnografie și folclor* [Romanian Culture Between National, Regional Placement and Universal – Multilingual Europe, Electronic Culture, domain Ethnography and Folklore] of this volume.

world. Industrialised culture broadcast by mass media is eroding traditional folklore and creates new improvised and inexact stereotypes which, at the very folk group level, create mediocre hybrids. [...] The oral culture, the genuine folklore offers permanence only to those products which are truly necessary"[7].

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[7] The initial, Romanian version of article was published in Ispas 2017.

LES LISTES DU PATRIMOINE CULTUREL IMMATERIEL EN CHINE: ACTUALITES ET REFLEXIONS

MA QIANLI

RESUME

En 2005, la Chine a entamé d'énormes travaux administratifs et culturels pour élaborer un système de listes des éléments du patrimoine culturel immatériel à quatre niveaux. Combinaison de l'enjeu politique national, de l'obligation à la *Convention pour la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel* et des spécificités des traditions populaires en Chine, ce système a en réalité un impact social assez important en relevant considérablement la visibilité des éléments du patrimoine culturel immatériel inscrits. Si certaines mesures de ce système sont incontestablement positives, comme l'élaboration des zones pour la sauvegarde de l'écosystème culturel et celle du système de bases de données des éléments inscrits ouvertes au public, certaines caractéristiques ont quand même des conséquences indésirables, qui se manifestent par la hiérarchisation des traditions populaires et la séparation de la communauté et le droit à gérer ses affaires culturelles. Faute d'organisations non gouvernementales actives dans le domaine de la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel et d'initiative communautaire, le chemin est encore long pour aboutir à un mécanisme de listes combinant parfaitement l'esprit de la Convention et les particularités chinoises.
Mots clés: listes du patrimoine culturel immatériel, Chine, participation communautaire.

Selon l'article 12 de la *Convention pour la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel* (ci-après abrégée comme «la Convention») de l'UNESCO, chaque Etat partie a l'obligation de dresser, de façon adaptée à sa situation, un ou plusieurs inventaires du patrimoine culturel immatériel (ci-après abrégé comme «le PCI») présent sur son territoire[1]. Ces inventaires doivent en outre être mis à jour

[1] Je remercie Ahmed Skounti et Geneviève Teil pour leurs conseils précieux sur des versions précédentes de ce texte.

régulièrement. Préoccupation majeure de l'UNESCO pour la mise en œuvre de la Convention dans les Etats parties, l'élaboration des inventaires du PCI à l'échelle nationale a fait l'objet de nombre d'études. Elle est aussi le point de départ pour l'élaboration du plan de sauvegarde du PCI dans un Etat partie donné.

La participation des communautés est pourtant un facteur crucial dans l'élaboration des inventaires. Egalement une préoccupation majeure de la Convention, la participation des communautés, des groupes et des organisations non gouvernementales pertinentes est obligatoire pour identifier et définir les différents éléments du PCI (article 11), c'est-à-dire l'élaboration des inventaires dans les Etats parties. En outre, cette participation doit se présenter dans la totalité des activités de sauvegarde du PCI par les Etats parties[2]. Quant à l'inscription des éléments du PCI des Etats parties sur les deux listes du PCI gérées par l'Unesco, la participation des communautés est également un critère incontournable[3]. Il est aussi à noter que ce principe est souligné par les Directives opérationnelles pour la mise en œuvre de la Convention sur les deux catégories de rapport des Etats parties (l'une sur la mise en œuvre de la Convention et l'autre sur les éléments inscrits sur la Liste du patrimoine culturel immatériel nécessitant une sauvegarde urgente).[4] Le présent article analyse l'état actuel du mécanisme des listes du PCI en Chine dans la perspective de la Convention par plusieurs thèmes et essaie de déployer quelques réflexions.

TYPE DE LISTES

Ayant ratifié la Convention le 2 décembre 2004, la Chine a commencé à sauvegarder le patrimoine culturel immatériel présent sur son territoire dans le cadre de l'application de la Convention et de sa législation nationale à partir de 2005. La première mesure de sauvegarde est donc l'élaboration des listes du PCI. Correspondant à ses caractéristiques géographiques et administratives, le régime de listes du PCI en Chine est constitué de quatre niveaux, soit communal, municipal, provincial et national. L'élaboration des listes est effectuée soit par les

[2] L'article 15 de la Convention a prescris cette participation comme: dans le cadre de ses activités de sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel, chaque Etat partie s'efforce d'assurer la plus large participation possible des communautés, des groupes et, le cas échéant, des individus qui créent, entretiennent ce patrimoine, et de les impliquer activement dans sa région.

[3] Selon le critère U.4 pour l'inscription sur la Liste du patrimoine culturel immatériel nécessitant une sauvegarde urgente et le critère R.4 pour l'inscription sur la Liste représentative du patrimoine culturel immatériel de l'humanité, l'élément proposé pour l'inscription sur la liste doit avoir été soumis au terme de la participation la plus large possible de la communauté, du groupe ou, le cas échéant, des individus concernés et avec leur consentement libre, préalable et éclairé.

[4] Selon l'article 157 et 162 des Directives opérationnelles sur la mise en œuvre de la Convention, les deux catégories de rapport soumissionnées par les Etats parties doivent inclure des informations concernant la participation des communautés, des groupes et des individus ainsi que des organisations non gouvernementales pertinentes à la sauvegarde de l'élément et leur volonté constante d'en assurer une sauvegarde continue.

enquêtes de terrain des organismes gouvernementaux compétents, soit par le processus sollicitation-évaluation, dont la dernière mesure se réalise strictement dans l'ordre «bottom-up».

Initialement appelées «listes du patrimoine culturel immatériel», les listes du PCI sont officiellement rebaptisées «listes des éléments représentatifs du patrimoine culturel immatériel» en 2014. En Chine, les listes du PCI sont uniquement établies et entretenues par les organismes gouvernementaux d'une manière plus au moins homogène, c'est-à-dire que les autorités gouvernementales y jouent un rôle prédominant avec la participation de différentes parties comme les praticiens de tradition, les chercheurs et les médias. L'enquête générale pour inventorier le PCI sur le territoire entier a été déclenchée en 2005 et à la fin de cette enquête en 2009, le ministère de la Culture a proclamé qu'à peu près 870.000 éléments ont été recensés. Les nouvelles listes de différents niveaux sont normalement publiées tous les deux ou trois ans pour que le système de listes puisse être mis à jour. Quant aux listes nationales, le Conseil d'Etat a publié en 2006, 2008, 2011 et 2014 quatre séries de listes nationales et de listes nationales élargies (celles-là concernent l'élargissement des localités ou des établissements chargés de la sauvegarde des éléments inscrits) qui incluent au total 1.525 éléments[5].

Ce système de listes à quatre niveaux a ainsi constitué une structure pyramidale et complexe[6]. Il faut avouer que ce système témoigne visiblement d'une rationalité pratique et facilite les enquêtes générales, l'élaboration et l'évaluation des dossiers de candidature. Dans la pratique, les avantages de ce système se manifestent comme suit:

1. Vu la superficie, la population et la diversité des traditions populaires en Chine, le système à quatre niveaux permet d'entreprendre efficacement les enquêtes dans le pays entier et garantit la représentativité géographique des éléments inscrits sur les listes.

2. Les éléments inscrits sur les listes de niveau supérieur ont normalement une diffusion plus étendue et une visibilité plus grande que ceux inscrits sur les listes de niveau inférieur. Cette différenciation favorise ainsi l'élaboration des politiques de sauvegarde différenciées pour des éléments d'étendue et de visibilité différentes.

3. Ce système à quatre niveaux est naturellement doté d'une fonction de sélection. Du niveau communal au niveau national, le nombre d'éléments inscrits baisse successivement, et ce mécanisme permet de limiter l'énorme travail d'élaboration et d'évaluation des dossiers de candidature pour l'inscription sur la liste nationale.

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[5] Chen 2015: 56.
[6] Chen 2010: 72, 74.

Cependant, ce dispositif a connu des problèmes tant au niveau théorique qu'au niveau pratique et le monde de recherche chinois a déjà émis certaines réflexions et critiques. Chen Xinlin considère que ce régime n'a pas respecté le relativisme culturel et que la population ne s'est pas vu attribuer le rôle principal dans l'élaboration d'inventaires alors que c'est elle l'acteur principal dans la création et la transmission du PCI. L'élaboration et l'évaluation des dossiers de candidature sont ainsi devenues un programme culturel dicté entièrement par les autorités gouvernementales à la place de la population[7]. Dans le monde scientifique, l'égalité entre les faits culturels fait consensus, tandis que ce système introduit entre ceux-ci une hiérarchie qui induit les publics à les considérer comme porteurs de valeurs différentes. Cette hiérarchisation conceptuelle a ainsi une influence négative sur la sauvegarde du PCI, surtout pour les pratiques culturelles non inscrites ou inscrites sur les listes de niveaux inférieurs.

Cette hiérarchisation a aussi des conséquences pour le régime des listes de détenteurs du PCI. Le statut officiel de détenteur est parfois utilisé pour une exploitation lucrative et exclusive, au détriment des autres praticiens de tradition non-inscrits sur lesdites listes.

CLASSEMENT DES ELEMENTS

En Chine, les éléments inscrits sur les listes sont divisés en dix domaines qui sont: (1) littératures populaires; (2) musiques traditionnelles; (3) danses traditionnelles; (4) théâtres traditionnels; (5) arts verbaux divers (*quyi*); (6) sports, divertissements et acrobaties traditionnels; (7) beaux-arts traditionnels; (8) savoir-faire traditionnels; (9) médecines traditionnelles; (10) folklore[8]. Il faut noter que le domaine du folklore ne correspond pas exactement à sa définition disciplinaire en Chine ou ailleurs, mais plutôt l'équivalent du domaine (c) dans le classement du PCI par la Convention, soit les pratiques sociales, rituels et événements festifs. Le classement chinois est en effet une adaptation de celui de la Convention aux spécificités nationales: par exemple, le domaine «arts du spectacle» selon la Convention a été divisé selon des catégories artistiques courantes en Chine: musiques traditionnelles, danses traditionnelles, théâtres traditionnels et arts verbaux divers (*quyi*).

Si la classification des éléments du PCI pour l'inventaire provoque souvent l'atomisation des faits culturels dans nombre de pays, la Chine n'en est

[7] Chen 2015: 56-57.

[8] Il faudrait noter que ce classement a été employé à partir de la IIe série de liste nationale. Pour celui de la I-e série, les nominations différentes sont: (2) musiques populaires; (3) danses populaires; (6) acrobaties et concours athlétiques; (7) beaux-arts populaires; (8) savoir-faire liés à l'artisanat traditionnel.

pas épargnée non plus. Par exemple, «le chant de travail de quatre saisons du peuple *Hani*» est en réalité juste une partie d'un long poème traditionnel du même peuple, mais la province du Yunnan n'a choisi que le premier pour élaborer un dossier de candidature pour la liste nationale au lieu du second[9]. Bien que cette approche compromette la sauvegarde du PCI en tant que «fait total», elle est pourtant presque la seule solution car le temps consacré à la préparation du dossier de candidature pour l'inscription sur la liste nationale est assez limité.

Il est intéressant d'observer la notion d' «espace culturel» dans le mécanisme des listes du PCI en Chine. Bien que les dossiers de candidature pour les listes du PCI ne concernent quasiment que les manifestations culturelles mais rarement les espaces culturels, il existe une autre catégorie de listes dont les éléments sont nommés «zones pour la sauvegarde de l'écosystème culturel». La première zone nationale qui se situe dans le sud de la province du Fujian a été créée en juin 2007 et cette liste comprend actuellement vingt et un éléments. Il existe le même type de liste au niveau provincial. Dans la conception de l'établissement de ces zones, le PCI est justement l'objet essentiel à sauvegarder avec la sauvegarde de l'écosystème culturel comme condition préalable. La sauvegarde de l'écosystème culturel est plutôt une mesure pour éviter l'atomisation du fait culturel total, car les éléments du PCI se transmettent de génération en génération dans ces zones. D'après Liu Kuili, ces zones sont vraisemblablement des espaces culturels élargis[10]. Ce constat est basé sur le fait que cette catégorie de zone est normalement constituée d'une ou plusieurs municipalités. En termes de l'étendue, cette catégorie de zone est beaucoup plus vaste que les espaces culturels dont le sens a été défini par l'Unesco.[11] Dans le concept de cette catégorie de zone, la sauvegarde du PCI est associée à la conservation du patrimoine culturel matériel pertinent (mobiliers archéologiques, quartiers et villes historiques, etc.) et à la protection des environnements naturel, économique et social. Cela reflète donc une conception du «fait total», ou une

[9] Liu 2006: 51.

[10] D'après les notes d'une interview avec Liu Kuili, expert en sauvegarde du PCI et chercheur retraité de l'Académie chinoise des sciences sociales, le 23 novembre 2016.

[11] Selon le document «Proclamation des chefs-d'œuvre du patrimoine oral et immatériel de l'humanité: guide pour la présentation des dossiers de candidature», le concept anthropologique d'espace culturel est défini comme «un lieu concentrant des activités culturelles populaires et traditionnelles, mais également comme un temps caractérisé généralement par une certaine périodicité (cyclique, saisonnière, calendrier, etc.) ou par un événement. Enfin, cet espace temporel et physique doit son existence aux manifestations culturelles qui s'y déroulent traditionnellement. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/ulis/cgi-bin/ExtractPDF.pl?catno==2&display=1&lang =fo&from=1&to=39, consulté le 1 avril, 2019.

vision patrimoniale plus complète, et facilite l'élaboration et la mise en œuvre des mesures de sauvegarde systématiques.

CRITERES D'INSCRIPTION

D'après un rapport de synthèse publié par l'Unesco sur la réalisation d'inventaires du PCI dans les Etats parties, les inventaires nationaux ou locaux s'appuient pour l'inclusion des éléments culturels sur un certain nombre de critères: définition, description, justification (par les communautés), participation communautaire, transmission, menaces et plans de sauvegarde. La participation et la reconnaissance communautaires sont en tous cas des mots clés[12]. En Chine, le Conseil d'Etat a publié *la Disposition provisoire pour l'élaboration et l'évaluation des dossiers de candidature pour l'inscription sur la liste nationale des éléments représentatifs du patrimoine culturel immatériel* (ci-après abrégée comme «*la Disposition*») le 26 mars 2005. Selon cette disposition, les éléments doivent avoir «une valeur exceptionnelle», «des significations typiques» et d'importantes valeurs pour les recherches scientifiques. Les six critères sont les suivants:

1. L'élément doit avoir une valeur exceptionnelle manifestant la créativité culturelle de la nation chinoise;
2. L'élément doit être une tradition culturelle enracinée dans la communauté, transmise de génération en génération et pourvue de caractéristiques locales remarquables;
3. L'élément doit favoriser l'identification culturelle de la nation chinoise, promouvoir la cohésion sociale, la solidarité inter-ethnique et la stabilité sociale, et jouer bien le rôle d'intermédiaire pour les échanges culturels;
4. Les savoir-faire traditionnels de haut niveau doivent être présents dans l'élément;
5. L'élément doit avoir une ou des valeurs uniques qui témoignent de la tradition culturelle vivante de la nation chinoise.
6. L'élément doit avoir une ou des significations importantes pour la perpétuation de la transmission de la culture chinoise et doit être en même temps sous les menaces de disparition en raison du changement social ou du manque de mesures de sauvegarde[13].

En outre, le ministère de la Culture a aussi établi des critères pour les dix domaines des éléments du PCI dans la liste nationale. Ces critères reprennent les jugements de valeur plutôt externes présents dans *la Disposition*, comme la durée d'existence de l'élément, la visibilité du lignage de transmission et les

[12] *Réalisation d'inventaires...*
[13] Département du patrimoine... 2009: 25-26.

valeurs historique, culturelle, scientifique ou artistique. Pour les domaines comme la musique traditionnelle, le théâtre traditionnel, les arts verbaux divers (*quyi*), l'acrobatie traditionnelle et les savoir-faire traditionnels, les critères respectifs insistent sur «le haut niveau artistique» ou «l'habileté excellente». Sur le plan pratique, l'élaboration et l'évaluation des dossiers de candidature pour la liste nationale en quatre séries de 2005 à 2013 ont perpétué ces jugements de valeur.

Aux niveaux provincial, municipal et communal, les critères pour la liste nationale sont plus au moins repris. Dans nombre de provinces, l'élément inscrit doit pouvoir incarner la culture traditionnelle de la province et la créativité de la culture nationale et populaire dans cette province. Certaines provinces prennent de plus en compte, pour certains domaines, la diffusion géographique de l'élément. Par exemple, pour être inscrits sur la liste provinciale du Fujian, les éléments du domaine «folklore» et du domaine «savoir-faire traditionnels» doivent avoir un impact social dans au moins trois districts ou trois villes[14]. Comme au niveau national, les critères établis par *la Disposition* ont gardé une grande stabilité.

L'avis de la communauté détentrice du PCI n'est pas souvent sollicité durant l'élaboration et l'évaluation des dossiers de candidature, sauf pour les consentements écrits obligatoires qu'elle doit fournir pour le dossier de candidature. La décision d'inscription est parfois le privilège de fonctionnaires chargés des affaires culturelles qui ont tendance à préférer les intérêts des collectivités territoriales à l'opinion de la communauté détentrice[15]. Les experts chinois, quant à eux, insistent plutôt sur la scientificité du dossier de candidature et représentent un jugement de valeur externe. Ces problèmes sont en fait la conséquence de l'absence des communautés dans la gestion des affaires culturelles et d'une relative inactivité des organisations non gouvernementales (ONG) en art et culture. Ces facteurs ont ainsi un impact négatif sur la motivation des communautés, groupes ou individus pour la sauvegarde de leurs traditions.

FORMULAIRE DES ELEMENTS INSCRITS

En Chine, les autorités compétentes disposent généralement de deux versions de formulaires des éléments inscrits sur les listes, l'une imprimée et l'autre informatique. Pour la version imprimée, les catalogues, les monographies et les autres genres de documents sur les éléments du PCI de divers niveaux ont été largement publiés et conservés en bibliothèque ou en archives. Les autorités compétentes de divers niveaux ont également conservé la version imprimée des dossiers de candidature. Quant à la version informatique, un système de bases de

[14] Département du patrimoine… 2013: 533-534.
[15] Chen 2010: 76.

données du niveau communal au niveau national ouvert au public, même s'il est incomplet actuellement, a été également mis en œuvre, surtout pour le niveau national et provincial. Au niveau national, le site web du patrimoine culturel immatériel de Chine (http://www.ihchina.cn) offre un service de consultation des éléments inscrits sur la liste nationale et ceux dans les deux listes et le registre de l'Unesco. Cependant les informations écrites et photographiques disponibles sur le site sont relativement concises. Au niveau provincial, la plupart des collectivités territoriales ont aussi établi leurs sites web officiels du PCI pour offrir un service de consultation au public. Certains municipalités ou districts, comme la municipalité de Jiaxing, ont également créé leurs sites web du PCI avec la même fonction de consultation. Il faudrait noter que ces sites web ont aussi présenté les détenteurs représentatifs du PCI concerné. En outre, dans les collectivités territoriales disposant d'une ou plusieurs zones pour la sauvegarde de l'écosystème culturel, comme la province du Fujian, les sites web incluent les informations concernant ces zones. Généralement, les informations dans les bases de données du PCI publiques se présentent sous forme de textes et de photographies, et ne sont pas très riches en contenu. Cependant, ce système de bases de données correspondant au régime des listes à quatre niveaux a quand même accru la visibilité du PCI auprès du public.

Quant aux langues employées dans les listes, à part pour quelques régions autonomes, comme la Mongolie intérieure qui dispose d'une version de liste en mongol, la quasi-totalité des listes et les dossiers de candidature sont uniquement en chinois. A aucun niveau n'existe de version en langue étrangère.

MISE A JOUR DES LISTES

La plupart des Etats parties actualisent leurs inventaires régulièrement, mais les modes et les fréquences de mise à jour diffèrent. En Chine, la mise à jour des listes consiste à élaborer et évaluer les dossiers de candidature et à publier les nouvelles séries de listes pour les quatre niveaux. D'une manière générale, les établissements chargés de la sauvegarde du PCI, les détenteurs représentatifs, les communautés, les groupes, les experts et les organes gouvernementaux chargés des affaires culturelles participent tous à ce processus. En théorie, la mise à jour comprend l'inscription des nouveaux éléments approuvés et le retrait des éléments qui ne satisfont plus aux critères d'inscription, ainsi que la modification des dénominations d'éléments ou des domaines auxquels ils appartiennent. Pourtant dans la pratique, le mécanisme de retrait des éléments n'existe pas encore pour la liste nationale, malgré les revendications des chercheurs[16]. Toujours au niveau national, le mécanisme d'enquête et de surveillance concernant la viabilité des éléments inscrits entre les publications de deux séries de listes n'existe pas non plus.

[16] D'après les notes d'une interview avec Liu Kuili, le 23 novembre 2016.

Les pratiques diffèrent quant aux listes des trois autres niveaux. A Jiaxing, province du Zhejiang, le mécanisme de surveillance est remplacé par des réunions de travail des parties prenantes de la sauvegarde, et les informations des éléments ne seront plus modifiées après la publication de la liste[17]. A Weihai, province du Shandong, le Centre municipal pour la sauvegarde du PCI entreprend des enquêtes de poursuite sur l'état de sauvegarde des éléments inscrits aux listes municipales. Les informations des éléments inscrits seront modifiées selon les résultats des enquêtes[18].

En termes de fréquence de mise à jour, le Conseil d'Etat publie normalement une nouvelle série de la liste nationale tous les deux ans. C'est la même fréquence pour la liste des détenteurs représentatifs nationaux. Ces deux catégories de listes sont publiées alternativement. Quant aux trois autres niveaux, les nouvelles séries de liste sont souvent publiées tous les deux ou trois ans.

Il est clair que le mécanisme d'enquête sur la viabilité des éléments inscrits, s'il existe dans certaines localités, est uniquement orchestré par les organes gouvernementaux compétents. Les communautés, les groupes et les individus n'y participent qu'en offrant des informations. Cette activité de sauvegarde n'est pas encore devenue une initiative consciente de la communauté, car la mise à jour de la liste est pour l'instant seulement une nécessité de l'administration culturelle. La communauté qui dispose pourtant d'une meilleure connaissance sur la viabilité et les résultats de sauvegarde de son élément du PCI inscrit, n'a pas encore acquis le sens des responsabilités en cette matière. La raison en est sans doute qu'elle dispose de peu de pouvoirs dans la gestion de ses affaires culturelles.

PARTICIPATION DES COMMUNAUTES

En Chine, d'après l'article 8 de *la Disposition* précédemment citée, les citoyens, les institutions publiques, les entreprises et les autres établissements peuvent postuler à l'inscription de leur patrimoine culturel immatériel sur la liste des éléments représentatifs. Les autorités d'administration culturelle responsables soumettent les demandes d'inscription aux autorités supérieures, et ainsi de suite. Si le demandeur de l'inscription n'est pas le détenteur ou groupe détenteur de l'élément, le demandeur doit solliciter une autorisation auprès du détenteur ou groupe détenteur[19]. De plus, les dossiers de candidature pour la liste nationale doivent inclure une autorisation écrite par les

[17] D'après le «Questionnaire sur l'enquête générale du PCI et la gestion de la liste du PCI de Jiaxing, Zhejiang», rempli le 8 décembre, 2016 par Wang Xiaotao, employé du Centre pour la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel de Jiaxing, Zhejiang.

[18] D'après le «Questionnaire sur l'enquête générale du PCI et la gestion de la liste du PCI de Weihai, Shandong», rempli le 19 décembre, 2016 par Wang Na, employée du Centre pour la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel de Weihai, Shandong.

[19] Académie chinoise… 2007: 237.

communautés, les groupes ou les détenteurs concernés à propos de la demande à l'inscription[20].

A partir de cette règlementation et dans la pratique, la participation des communautés et des individus ne concerne que le droit à postuler l'inscription de leur PCI et l'autorisation écrite pour le dossier de candidature à la liste nationale. Aux trois autres niveaux, cette participation est également plutôt limitée. A Jiaxing, province du Zhejiang, les détenteurs du PCI sont invités à raconter l'historique et le lignage de transmission de leurs traditions lors du tournage d'une vidéo qui fait partie du dossier de candidature[21]. A Weihai dans le Shandong, la participation des communautés se manifeste principalement par la fourniture des informations pour le dossier de candidature, comme les sources écrites et photographiques, ainsi que la participation au tournage de la vidéo et le consentement écrit pour identifier l'acteur chargé de la sauvegarde de l'élément[22].

Si le rôle de la communauté est marginalisé dans l'élaboration de l'inventaire, le pouvoir politique et le capital y tiennent plutôt un rôle dominant. Pour l'élaboration des listes municipales et provinciales, certaines coalitions d'intérêts sont même intervenues dans l'évaluation des dossiers de candidature[23]. En raison de l'ingérence fréquente du pouvoir politique et du capital, les conseils des experts chargés de l'évaluation basée sur la règle de transmission du PCI ne sont pas assez pris en compte, et la voix des communautés et des groupes, pourtant acteurs principaux de la sauvegarde du PCI est généralement absente.

Contrairement à la politique d'inventaire du Brésil qui insiste sur l'importance des pratiques culturelles des autochtones et des Afro-Brésiliens en vue de promouvoir l'intégration sociale des communautés marginalisées et améliorer leurs conditions de vie[24], la Chine n'a pas vraiment choisi d'intégrer les groupes de migrants en tant que détenteurs de tradition dans sa politique patrimoniale. Le fait est que l'identification et la définition des éléments du PCI dans une localité donnée ne concernent quasiment que les traditions et les détenteurs de tradition locaux. Malgré leurs présences numériquement importantes (245 millions à la fin de 2016[25] par rapport à la population totale de

[20] Periodic report… 2017.

[21] D'après le «Questionnaire sur l'enquête générale du PCI et la gestion de la liste du PCI de Jiaxing, Zhejiang», rempli le 8 décembre, 2016 par Wang Xiaotao, employé du Centre pour la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel de Jiaxing, Zhejiang.

[22] D'après le «Questionnaire sur l'enquête générale du PCI et la gestion de la liste du PCI de Weihai, Shandong», rempli le 19 décembre, 2016 par Wang Na, employée du Centre pour la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel de Weihai, Shandong.

[23] Chen 2010: 75.

[24] Unesco 2009: 17.

[25] Dernière statistique par le Comité d'Etat de service sanitaire et de planification de naissance, Département de la population migrante… 2017: 8.

1,33 milliards en 2010[26]) donc la plupart est dans les régions côtières développées, les communautés ou groupes de migrants, souvent de l'origine rurale et de l'arrière-pays, ne jouirent pas pleinement des droits aux affaires sociales et culturelles (les travailleurs migrants sont rarement couverts par les syndicats), y compris la participation à l'élaboration de l'inventaire du PCI. Certains organes gouvernementaux compétents ont promu l'apprentissage des éléments du PCI locaux à l'école par les enfants des migrants, mais ont rarement promu les manifestations culturelles des migrants. Au point de vue de la Convention, l'appréciation mutuelle du PCI entre les communautés (l'article 1) n'a pas vraiment été effectuée. Le mécanisme de l'inventaire n'a donc pas encore joué un rôle important pour la cohésion et l'intégration sociales dans le contexte de l'exode rurale, de l'urbanisation accélérée et de la délocalisation des éléments du PCI.

PARTICIPATION DES ORGANISATIONS NON GOUVERNEMENTALES

En un certain sens, cette participation est pour l'instant peu développée en Chine. En tant que membres du corps d'évaluation pour la liste nationale du PCI et du Comité national des experts pour la sauvegarde du PCI, des experts de la Société chinoise de folklore et de la Société chinoise de muséologie ont participé à l'évaluation des dossiers de candidature pour la liste nationale[27]. Mais d'après Liu Kuili, la participation des ONG à l'élaboration des listes n'existe en fait pas en Chine, car c'est à titre personnel et non à celui de leurs sociétés que les experts participent à l'évaluation des dossiers[28]. Aux trois autres niveaux, les ONG en Chine sont aussi quasiment absentes, et n'offrent pas de services de consultation scientifique aux organes gouvernementaux ou aux communautés pour l'inventaire, comme leurs homologues dans certains pays européens. Si certains chercheurs locaux participent à l'élaboration des dossiers de candidature et d'autres participent à l'évaluation, ils ne représentent pas leurs sociétés savantes ou ONG.

Ce phénomène est plutôt dû au rôle dominant des organes gouvernementaux qui sont habitués à distribuer les missions bien définies aux partenaires différents, y compris les chercheurs bien connus (surtout les folkloristes et les musicologues). A partir des années 50 du XXe siècle, les enquêtes massives sur les traditions populaires ont été normalement planifiées par les organes gouvernementaux compétents et effectuées par les cadres, les chercheurs, les amateurs et les membres de communauté. En d'hors de ce mécanisme de l'élaboration de l'inventaire, les sociétés savantes prennent rarement l'initiative pour élaborer les inventaires.

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[26] Dernière statistique par le Bureau des enquêtes générales de la population sous le Conseil d'Etat, http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/pcsj/rkpc/6rp/indexch.htm.

[27] Periodic report No. 47101/CHINA…

[28] D'après les notes d'une interview avec Liu Kuili, le 23 novembre 2016.

Les ONG non académiques, surtout les associations de tradition populaire n'ont en fait pas une présence importante dans l'élaboration de l'inventaire non plus. Il faudrait chercher l'origine de cette inactivité dans l'urbanisation et l'industrialisation en cours qui font disparaître le monde rural et la désintégration de sa structure sociale. Le sujet est ici retourné à la question des groupes de migrants. Avec la diminution numérique dû à l'exode rurale, les associations de tradition populaire du monde rural sont plutôt fournisseurs d'information lors des enquêtes pour l'inventaire. Dans les lieux d'accueil pour les migrants souvent dans les régions développées, leur état d'atomisation et leur statut marginal dans l'hiérarchie sociale ont constitué des contraintes aux droits culturels, y compris l'inscription de leurs traditions sur les inventaires.

CONCLUSION

Le mécanisme des listes du PCI en Chine a certaines caractéristiques bien visibles. C'est tout d'abord un système très institutionnalisé avec une structure pyramidale de listes à quatre niveaux correspondant exactement aux échelons des collectivités territoriales. En plus de la hiérarchisation inévitable des éléments inscrits sur les listes de différents niveaux et de ses conséquences souvent indésirables, cette institutionnalisation se manifeste aussi par un classement bien détaillé des éléments inscrits en dix domaines, combinaison du classement par la Convention, des particularités des traditions populaires chinoises et de la répartition des pouvoirs entre les organes gouvernementaux concernés. Aspect positif, la Chine est consciente de la liaison étroite entre le PCI et ses conditions d'existence naturelle, sociale et culturelle et c'est pour cette raison que les zones pour la sauvegarde de l'écosystème culturel ont été établies. De plus, les sites web de bases de données largement ouverts au public offrent plus de possibilités de diffusion et de communication des fruits du travail d'inventaire.

La deuxième caractéristique est le jugement de valeur externe incarné dans les critères d'inscription. Etroitement liée à la première caractéristique, elle s'adapte bien à la hiérarchisation des éléments inscrits, car les critères soulignant les valeurs techniques, historiques et artistiques, préférés à la reconnaissance par la communauté elle-même, ne sauraient que faciliter les procédés d'évaluation et administratifs. Pourtant, ces critères ont logiquement marginalisé la communauté détentrice du PCI dans tous les processus d'élaboration des listes.

La troisième caractéristique se manifeste par le statut marginal de la communauté et le rôle de quasi-monopole du gouvernement dans l'élaboration des listes. Elle est donc inséparable de la deuxième caractéristique. Cette tendance apparaît aussi dans la mise à jour des listes et elle n'est qu'un reflet de l'état actuel du droit à gérer ses affaires culturelles pour la communauté.

Si l'Unesco ne relâche pas ses efforts pour promouvoir son idéal de participation communautaire et le processus «bottom-up», les expériences

chinoises valorisent plutôt les forces gouvernementales d'une tradition centralisée pour favoriser ainsi l'efficacité du processus d'inventaire. Il est donc normal que les logiques administratives et politiques se manifestent massivement dans le mécanisme de l'inventaire, et que les communautés pertinentes, souvent faute d'une certaine structuration, n'arrivent pas à jouer un rôle actif dans l'inventorisation de leur patrimoine initié et orchestré par les organes gouvernementaux. Dans le contexte de l'urbanisation et de la délocalisation des traditions populaires, il est probablement intéressant d'étudier les rapports de pouvoirs entre les organes gouvernementaux des lieux d'accueil pour les migrants, les groupes de migrants, les ONG, le monde de recherche et les autres parties prenantes du processus d'inventaire, en faisant référence aux expériences de l'élaboration d'inventaire dans certains autres Etats parties de la Convention[29].

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[29] Il existe des processus d'inventaire du PCI initiés et présidés par les ONG pertinents, comme celui par l'Union des Pro Loco italiennes, une union des associations de bénévoles pour la promotion du tourisme local. Voir Chiara 2013: 38-39.

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AN OVERVIEW OF MANAS EPIC STUDIES IN CHINA (1949–2019)

OSMAN JUMA, TURSUNAY ELI

ABSTRACT

The Manas epic (hereafter stated as Manas) is an encyclopedic work on various fields, including language, literature, folklore, history, culture, and religious beliefs of the Kyrgyz. The Manas has attracted research attention in China, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Germany, Turkey, Kazakhstan and Japan. Following the effect of global warming on Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, it has been included in the ICH list by request of China and Kyrgyzstan in 2009 and 2013. The article mainly introduces and discusses Manas studies during its 70-year history from 1949 to 2019.

Keywords: Manas epic, research, evaluation, China.

INTRODUCTION

Kyrgyz living in China represent approximately 5% of global Kyrgyz, and China is the second (after Uzbekistan) of the states with a large Kyrgyz minority. The Kyrgyz ethnic group is most populous in Kyrgyzstan, where the 2009 census reported the Kyrgyz population to be 3.8 million people (71% of the country's population) (Kokaisl 2012). So, it is easy to understand that Kyrgyz is dominant nation in Kyrgyzstan and minority in China. Therefore, the status and role of Manas is different in Kyrgyzstan and China such as "As a treasured heritage of the Kyrgyz people, the *Manas* epic is widely known across central Asia. More than 100 versions of the epic have been recorded from epic singers, *manaschys*, since the nineteenth century in Kyrgyzstan, Afghanistan, and Xinjiang, China (Jumaturdu 2016: 288), and "The monumental epic Manas is the most treasured expression of the national heritage of the Kyrgyz people. Composed and sung entirely in oral form by various singers throughout the centuries, Manas is regarded as the epitome of oral creativity" (Köçümkulkïzï 2005), and "the Kyrgyz epic of Manas is one of the three oldest heroic epics in China. Its preservation and protection have become a crucial cultural link between the people of China and Kyrgyzstan" (Yang 2019).

Scholars engaged in the study of Manas are familiar with the research results of Manas in Russia, Kyrgyzstan, Germany, US, Turkey so on. But they can only obtain the research information about Manas studies in China through some papers published in English or other languages. For example, Svetlana Jacquesson's *Claiming heritage: the Manas epic between China and Kyrgyzstan* (2020), Venera Narinova and Yunus Emre Gürbüz's *The Manas Epic as a Cultural Element Between China and Kyrgyzstan* (2019), Karl Reichl's *Oral Epics into the Twenty-First Century: The Case of the Kyrgyz Epic Manas* (2016), Adil Jumaturdu's *A comparative Study of Performers of the Manas epic* (2016) etc.

Before, Chinese scholars rarely understood the theories or methods of well-known foreign scholars. Here I want to quote Alan Dundes's statement that "Folklore research has gradually formed into an interdisciplinary and international subject field. Unfortunately, Chinese folklorists know very little about the situation outside of China. Chinese folklorists have not participated in the international collaboration of folklore research so far. Chinese scholars do not understand the new theories and methods adopted by European and American folklorists. At the same time, European and American folklorists do not know about Chinese folklorists. Because of this, people hope that Chinese folklorists' research results can be published in English, French, German or other international academic languages. Of course, some European and American scholars' works should also be published in Chinese" (Dundes 1990: 1). This is why we want to write and publish for reference to foreign scholars.

Since 1980, Chinese scholars gradually introduced and adopted international academic theories and methods, and translated and published many works in Chinese as Alan Dundes's *International Folklore* (1990) and *Interpreting Folklore* (2005), Richard Bauman's *Verbal Art as Performance* (2008), Gregory Nagy's *Homeric Questions* (2008), Dan Ben-Amos's *Concepts and Methods in Folkloristics* (2018), Jan Vansina's *Oral Tradition as History* (2020) etc.

China has included a total of 42 items on the UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage List until 2020, after China formally joined the "Convention for the Protection of Intangible Cultural Heritage" in 2004. Manas is the one of the items included in ICH list.

With its antiquity and high artistic value, the Manas has attracted the attention of Western researchers after Russian scholars collected and published Manas in linguistic surveys in Kyrgyzstan and Western China. The increased research on the laws of Manas oral tradition and folklore has led to the emergence of an independent secular science internationally called Manaschilik. At a time when Western scholars study the Manas from a historical, literary, linguistic, sociological, aesthetic, philosophical, and military point of view, Chinese researchers showed no such attention. The academic history of the world Manas Study has gone through more than 160 years from its birth to its development (Jumaturdu 2018: 565-566). Compared with the study of Manas abroad, the study of Manas in our country started

late and has a shorter research history. However, from the 1960s to the end of the 20th century, in a short period of more than 30 years, my country has made considerable progress in the study of the epic Manas (Lang 1999: 43)

After the founding of New China, especially after the reform in 1979, Chinese researchers conducted Manas studies and collections upon recognizing its importance. The compiled texts have been translated and published in Chinese, Uyghur, Kazakh and English. Institutions dedicated to Manas study have been established in China, leasing to the emergence of a strong and sizable research power. After relevant findings were published in the Chinese press, Chinese Manas study has gradually become a part of the international Manas study. Chinese Manas study is characterized as late and in rapid development with considerable achievements since the founding of New China. Over the course of more than half a century, the research scope has expanded to various areas and the number of articles written and books published is increasing year by year. The Manas study has had no scope or influence until 1949. The present research mainly focuses on the achievements in the Chinese Manas study since the founding of New China in 1949.

1. FORMATION OF CHINESE MANAS STUDY (1949–1978)

Shortly after the founding of New China, the China Folk Literature and Art Research Association was established in Beijing in 1950 with the aim of collecting folk oral literature. Thus, domestic researchers have already begun to collect and study epics such as *Jangir* and *Gesar*, which have a certain basis at home and abroad, during which time the two epics were called "the two great epics in China". However, due to the lack of information about the Manas in the country, Manas was left out of the collection due to the outskirts of the Kyrgyz settlement.

1.1. Collecting work

With the founding of New China and following in the footsteps of economic, social, and cultural affairs, domestic researchers began to pay attention to the Manas. They were forced to investigate the field due to the lack of first-hand material.

Lang Ying, known for her achievements in the field of Manas research and Kutadgu Bilig in China, stated in her book titled Manasi Lun that the first collection activity began in March 1961 and ended in October of that year. More than 20 Manaschi were also interviewed and oral literary legacies were recorded, including approximately 200,000 verses and the Manas (Lang 1999:520-526). During the collection, the researchers recognized the renowned Manaschi Jüsüp Mamay, and from his oral five parts, recorded 110,000 verses of Manas texts, including Manas, Samatei, Saitek, Kananim, and Sait.

The second collection activity lasted for two years from July 1964 to July 1966. In the same period, with the decision to supplement the epic, a task force to investigate the Manas was established under the leadership of the Chinese Folk Literary and Artistic Association. Within half a year, the investigation team

searched four counties in Qizilsu, collecting 107 copies of the Manas, 123,375 verse texts, and seizing 21 text copies that were circulating among the peoples. The collection team worked hard for two years to translate the first six chapters of Manas told by Jüsüp Mamay into Chinese, under the leadership of Liu Fajun and Shang Yijing. Most of the text and translations collected during the two Manas investigations were later lost, and the surviving materials were kept in the Manas Research Office of the People's Literary and Artistic Association in Xinjiang (Jumaturdu 2017: 396).

As for the difference between the two collections, the first was a comprehensive survey, in which other folklore works, including Manas, were also included in the collection. The second survey focused on the Manas collection, with Jüsüp Mamay, Ashmat Mambatjusup, among the Manaschi who could sing the Manas, focusing on the first unexplained and its version.

1.2. Research

At this point, research on Manas remained limited given that the text of the epic has been sorted and has not been published in full. Only a few articles have been published by Hu Zhenhua, Liu Fajun, and others involved in the collection. For example, the summary and centralization of the Epic of the Kyrgyz folk epos Manas was published in the 4th issue of the Wenyi Pinglun in 1962. Liu Fajun described the artistic beauty of the Manas and its reflection of ethnic identity. Yingxiong Shishi-Manasi by Hu Zhenhua was published in the 5th issue of the Minjian Wenxue in 1962. Professor Hu briefly discussed the content, distribution, and storytelling of the Manas, including its value, art, and ethnic characteristics (Hu 1962: 5: 37-43).

The main work of this period focused on the collection of Manas. Although the material collected was lost in later years and was a major research loss, most of the participants in the two collections became the Manas scholars of that period, forming the Chinese Manas study and exerting a direct effect on its development.

During the period from 1949 to 1966, the main work was focused on collecting Manas, and through two Manas epic collections, more than 200,000 verses of Manas were collected and translated into Chinese. In addition to being translated and fragments of the story published in domestic magazines, introductory-type articles about Manas. Importantly, most of the participants in the two collections became the later Manas researchers, which had a direct impact on the formation and development of Manas research in China.

2. MATURATION STAGE OF CHINESE MANAS STUDY (1979–1999)

2.1. Collecting and Publishing Works

After restriction during the turbulent years, Manas study had good development opportunities with the end of the Cultural Revolution in China and the reform implementation. Thus, relevant research was also included on the agenda. In early 1978, the Culture and Arts Association and the Chinese Folk Literary and

Artistic Research Association jointly carried out a rescue work for the lost Manas works from the previous two collections. The survey lasted from the end of 1979 to the end of 1983, at which point the collection was completed to the fullest extent according to Manaschi Jüsüp Mamay. He recounted eight episodes in five years, reaching a total of 230,000 verses that were fully recorded and prepared for publication. In addition, an investigation team was sent to various Kyrgyz settlements to interview the missing storytellers. More than 10 Manas were visited in Tikes, Mongulkura and other places in northern XUAR. The storyteller, Setivaldi, tells the epic of six generations of Manas (Jumaturdu 2006: 172-189).

We can say that this collection is important domestically. Because Jüsüp Mamay has completed eight episodes of Manas this time. From then on, this version, narrated by Jüsüp Mamay, became the main text of the Manas study in China.

In addition, the Manas Recitation Conference was held by 43 storytellers from different places at Aqchi County in August 1992. More than 100 tapes were recorded (Jumaturdu 2017: 413).

2.2. Publishing Work

The most widely published and translated version of the Manas is narrated by Jüsüp Mamay from 1980–1981, which was published by Xinjiang People's Publishing House in a total of 19 volumes within 11 years, from 1984 to 1995. The first part of Manas was translated into Chinese in 1994 by Liu Fajun, Shang Yijing, and Jumalai on a slightly abridged basis and published by Xinjiang People's Publishing House. Although material on Manas was collected to the greatest extent in this period, it was not published except for the variant narrated by Jüsüp Mamay in the 1980s.

2.3. Research

2.3.1. Monographies On Manas

Another important aspect of the achievements during this period is the expansion and deepening of research related to the Manas. The researchers have played their part and became the vanguard of the study. Professor Lang Ying's contributions during this period cannot be underestimated. In her work which *Minzu Yingxiong Manasi in China*, she discussed the relationship between the Manas and Kyrgyz, the formation and development of the Manas, Manaschi and their identity, images of the characters in the tale, artistic features, and the centrality of Kyrgyz folklore (Lang, 1990). Her other book titled *Manasi Lunxi*, the author mainly discussed the creation, distribution, development, and transformation of Manas, the Manas Listener Characters in Manas, and the aesthetic characteristics of Manas. A comprehensive discussion of the traces of shamanism in Manas showed the later direction of Chinese Manas study (Lang 1991). The monograph titled *Manasi Lun* consists of three sections, the first of which discusses the Manas distribution, place among the Kyrgyz, and the effect of the Kyrgyz life on the epic. The second section focused on the characters and narrative structures in the epic. The third section discussed the comparative and narrative research

method on the Manas with the stories of the Turkic-speaking peoples and the Western tales summarizing its unique characteristics (Lang 1999).

We can find the characteristics from Lang Ying's above three works that *The Minzu Yingxiong Manasi in China* discusses only the points related to Manas such as the formation of the story, Manaschies, and the characteristics of the story; in *Manasi Lunxi* mainly discussed the stories of Manas and other Turkic-speaking nations have been compared and the location of Manas has been determined. The final book, *Manasi Lun* further enriches Manas' unique characteristics and affirms the listener's place in the spread and development of Manas. Importantly, Manas is compared to Western legends, and Manas's secular narrative is shown.

Another significant book during this period is the *version of Manas and the Art of Manas* by Mambat Turdu. The book consists of two parts, the first of which compares and analyzes the lives of over 70 Manaschis in China and abroad and the variants of the Manas. The second part focuses on the storytelling features of the Manaschi, the Manaschi's growth, the text relationship with the primitive culture of the Kyrgyz, and the author's assessment of the cultural background in the formation of Manaschi (Jumaturdu 1997).

Collections of articles published during this period also establish one of the notable works in the study of Chinese Manas organized by Folk Literary and Artistic Association and the Chinese Manas Research Association. Articles on the Manas have been collected and published in the proceedings, including 27 articles on the art, ideas, time of origin, and the relationship between Kyrgyz and Manas study. The proceedings are the first collection of articles on Manas study in China.

2.3.2. Academic Articles on Manas

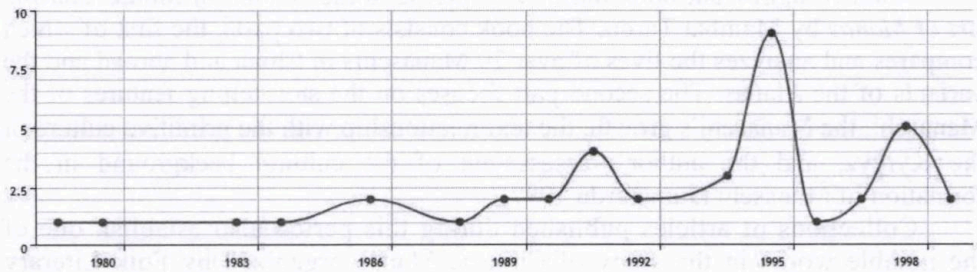
During this period, essays on Manas research began to be published in domestic journals. According to the China National Knowledge Internet, 39 Chinese articles on the Manas were published in 20 years from 1979 to 1999. These articles can be divided into introductions, comparative storytelling, text-based research, and cultural and religious history studies. Such as Liu Fajun's *Lun Manasi* (Liu 1986: 3:40-45).

In this period, several researchers began comparing the Manas with the folk tales of other nationalities at home and abroad, thereby laying the groundwork for comparative fiction. In addition to stories of other ethnicities in the country, such as Mongol's Jangar, Tibetans' Gesar, the Manas is compared with Western tales to find similarities with, for example, the Odyssey and the Illiad. A few such articles are Lang Ying's *Woguo sanda yingxiong shishi bijiao yanjiu* (Lang 1994: 3) and *Manasi yu xila shishi zhi bijiao* (Lang 1995: 1), Ablajan Muhammad's *Manasi he Yiliyate Oudesai* (Muhammad 1992: 2).

Studies on the Manas text have also been published in succession, with articles on the subject discussing the language features, art, episodes, motifs, and character images such as Li Shaunyan's *Manasi shi yibu yuyan wenhua yuanyuan de xiongjie*

cidian (Li 1994: 4), Zhang Yanping's *Manasi shishi zhong de xunhuan zhuti* (Zhang 1994: 4), and Kou Li's *Lun Manasi renwu xingge xitong tedian* (Kou 1992: 2).

In addition, the Manas began to be studied from historical, cultural, and religious points of view during this period. Finding historical sources in the epic, the cultural and religious traces became the subject of discussion. Articles in this category include Makelek Ömerbek's *Manasi shishi zhong youguan de yixie lishi yuanyuan* (Ömerbek 1990: 6), Asanbay Matli's *Keerkezizu yingxiong shishi Manasi zhongde wushu he zhanbu* (Matli 1991: 2), and Lang Ying's *Shishi de shensheng yu shishi shenli chongbai* (Lang 1998: 4). Thus, the Manas study has expanded in depth. Articles published during this period can be viewed in the following diagram:



In brief, between 1978 and 2000, the Manas study gradually matured, and with the continuous expansion of its sphere of influence, a regular research team was formed. Under the guidance of elders such as Lang Ying, Hu Zhenhua, and Liu Fajun, who participated in the collection and translation of the Manas in the past, the research team grew to be fair-minded and mature, while young Kyrgyz researchers Makelek Ömerbek and Esak Tohtububu played a notable role.

If we look at the characteristics of Chinese Manas research from 1978 to 2000, textual research has been at the forefront, whether in published books or written articles. The researchers based their Manas text on Jüsüp Mamay's version on the structure of the story, its linguistic features, its artistry, the similarities and differences between Manas and the domestic and foreign narratives, and the cultural layers of the story. Although researchers such as Lang Ying and Adil Jumaturdu have commented on non-textual factors such as Manaschi and listeners, these have not represented the main focus of research in this period. Thus, Chinese Manas research from the opening of the reform to the new century can be described as textual research.

3. DEVELOPMENT PERIOD OF CHINESE MANAS STUDIES (2000–2019)

With the turn of the new century, Chinese Manas study has entered a new era of development. In August 2005, the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and the Aqtöpe County Government jointly established the Manas Oral Tradition Center in Aqchi. In October 2009, Manas was inscribed on the Intangible Cultural Heritage

Lists by UNESCO. The Manas text and its other variants have been supplemented and translated into different languages. These three events have had a direct impact on Chinese Manas study in the new century.

In particular, with the inclusion of the Manas in ICH lists, the enthusiasm of the Chinese Manas has risen, evolving from a one-way study to a multi-directional one based on previous textual research. The results achieved in the study of Chinese Manas after the New Century can be shown in the following points:

3.1. Publishing and Translation

Although numerous Manaschis can be found in China, Jüsüp Mamay and Ashmat Mambatjüsüp are the well-known Manaschis recognized by researchers. The versions of these two storytellers have commonalities in terms of content, episode layout, and image creation, but have the following unique features:

Firstly, in terms of the length of the category, only two sections of the Ashmat Mambatjüsüp variant, the first is named Manas and the second is Samatai. In terms of the number of verses and the completeness of the content, the Ashmat Mambatjüsüp variant is shorter than that of Jüsüp Mamay.

Secondly, in terms of language, the version of Ashmat Mambatjüsüp is not linguistically simple and understandable, with numerous statements but little impact. The same words are repeated and short sentences are used. The verbal features of this version are stronger than those of the Jüsüp Mamay variant, which by comparison, is longer in sections. In the latter, the words are eloquent, the artistic flavor is strong, and the evoked images are stunning and the characters and their behavior are detailed. in terms of flavor, the version of Ashmat Mambatjüsüp provides a more detailed description of the motif forms of drinking blood and worshiping the genitals related to primitive customs. In the Jüsüp Mamay version, this type of content was mistakenly abbreviated or discarded by the publishers as unconstitutional and the sentences were adapted to modern language (Lang 1999: 219-233). From the founding of New China until the 1980s, entities and individuals engaged in Manas research have recorded the text of the epic dozens of times during field surveys, but none of the variants mentioned by Jüsüp Mamay in the 1980s have been published. In 2003, Tokhtububu Esak was the first to publish the second part of the Ashmat version by the Qizilsu Kyrgyz Publishing House. The first part of the Ashmat version was translated into Chinese by Lang Ying and Hussain Haji in 2014, but the Kyrgyz language of this version has not yet been published.

Thirdly, the Chinese Manas translation was published. However, after the beginning of the new century, the Slavic Kyrgyz and Uyghur, Kazakh, and English translations of the epic were published in succession. In 2009, Adil Jumaturdu translated the first part of Manas into Chinese and Xinjiang People's Publishing House published its four volumes. In 2013, the first part of the Jüsüp Mamay version was translated into English by the editorial department of the Xinjiang People's Publishing House and was published in 2013. In 2014, the first part of the

epic was translated into Kazakh by Manas Tapay Hayiskhan, Dolgun Turdu at Xinjiang People's Publishing House. In 2015, Manas was translated into Uyghur by Nowruz Usanali, Sayyipbek Ali, and Akbar Mehmet, among others, and was published by Xinjiang Youth Publishing House. The English, Kazakh, and Uyghur translations alone contain 60,000 verses from the first part of the Manas, while the remaining seven episodes have not yet been translated or published.

3.2. Books on the Manas

At the turn of the new century, standardization and scientification led to further breakthroughs in Chinese Manas study. Researchers have begun to study Manas in more detail through new theories and new methods in oral folk literature. In this period, books on the Chinese Manas study can be divided into three categories, namely, dictionaries, collections of research papers, and articles.

3.2.1. Manas Dictionary

Zhongguo Manasixue cidian is the only one of its kind in China. The dictionary compiled by Tokhtibubu Esak, Erzat Adil and Adil Jumaturdu contents include an introductory summary of the Manas, characters, scholars, religious beliefs and rituals, narratives, names of places, contents of primitive beliefs, names of heroes, weapons, instruments, various variants, apparatus related to its study, and scholarly works following its traces (Esak etc. 2017).

3.2.2. Research Books

Increasingly comprehensive research books were written on Chinese Manas in the late 20th century, while specific studies dominated after the turn of the new century. Adil Jumaturdu's books, *Manasi yanchang dashi Jusufu Mamayi pingchuan and Manasi shishi geshou yanjiu mainly* focused on Manaschi, their development, process of learning the epic, features of storytelling, and status. Ömerbek's monograf, titled *Manasin Akli* summarizes the wisdom of the Kyrgyz reflected in the Manas. Liang Jinhui's work, *Manasi fanyi chuanbo yanjiu* focuses on several English translations of the Jüsüp Mamay Version. *The Manaschi Ashmat* compiled by Halibek Mamatur and Tohtinur Amit, focuses on the characteristics of Ashmat Mambatjüsüp version.

3.2.3. Proceedings

At this stage, emphasis is placed on the publication of authoritative academic articles on Manas study at home and abroad. All these books were arranged for publication by Adil Jumaturdu, who became the lead Chinese Manas researcher after the turn of the new century. Proceedings published during this period include *Manasni chaqiruw*, *Koutou chuantong yu yingxiong shishi*, *Shijie Manasixue duben*, and *Zhongguo Manasixue duben*. These proceedings played an active role in promoting Manas study domestically, bringing together domestic and foreign research and fostering knowledge exchange.

3.3. Dissertations Related to Manas

The inclusion of the Manas in The World Intangible Cultural Heritage Lists in 2009 attracted the attention of several universities with a strong domestic

folklore research. These universities consider the importance of Manas and guide students to write dissertations on the epic. This factor has played an important role in deepening the study and training research fellows.

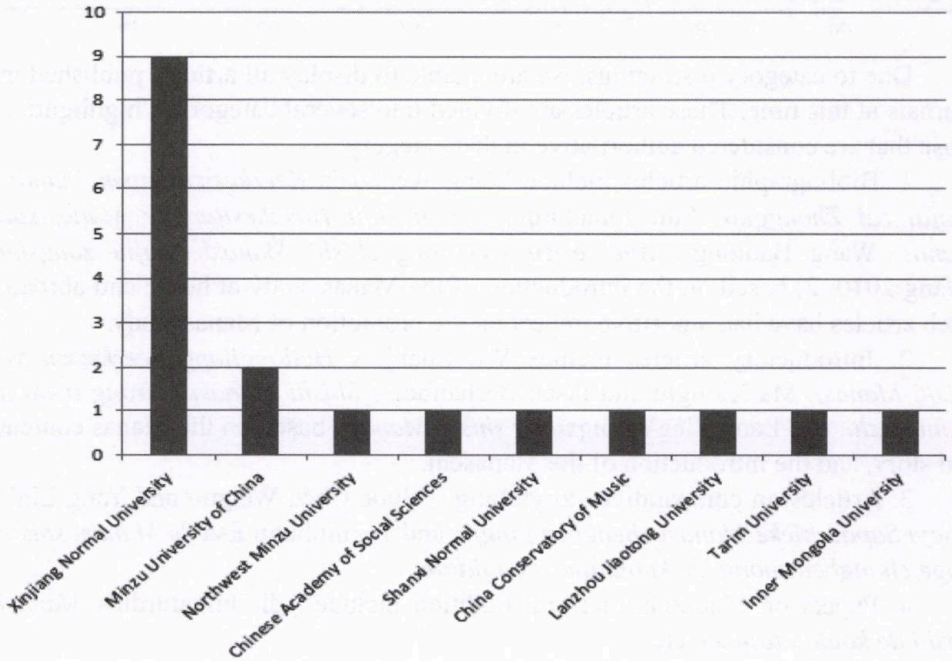
3.3.1. Doctoral Dissertations

One of the doctoral dissertations is by Adil Jumaturdu, entitled Lun Manasi shishi de geshou. In its six chapters, the dissertation discusses the socio-geographical and geographical characteristics of the region, socio-geographical characteristics of the Kyrgyz locales, distribution features, setting of the epic, time constraints, impact of the context on the Manaschi and the text, Manaschi motives, rituals and those associated with the Manas, restrictions on the category and content, clothing, equipment, spectators, and structural features of the Manas. The traditional formulas preserved in the language and rhyme are also analyzed.

The second dissertation is Manasi fanyi chuanbo yanjiu. This dissertation mainly discusses the introduction of Manas in other languages, including the English translations by Arthur Thomas Hatto and by Ermila Köçümkulkïzï (Liang 2013).

3.3.2. Master Dissertations

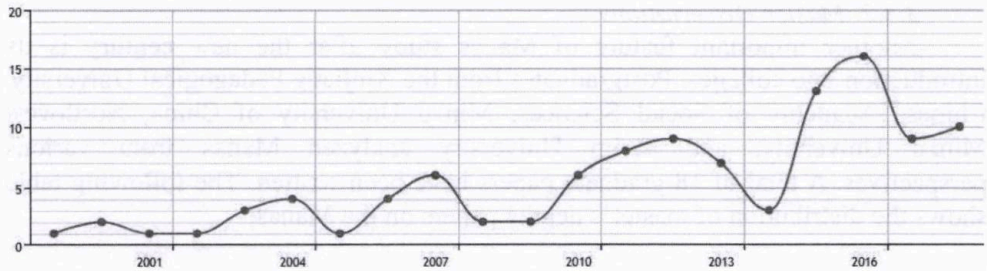
Another important feature of Manas study after the new century is its introduction into colleges. Postgraduates from the Xinjiang Pedagogical University, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Minzu University of China, Northwest Minzu University, and Tarim University analyzed Manas from various perspectives. A total of 18 graduate papers have been written. The following table shows the distribution of master's degree papers on the Manas:



Graduates in the various colleges selected different topics. Dissertations from the Xinjiang Normal University aimed to study the cultural layer of the Manas and the style of storytelling. For example as Güldölet's Manasi *Zhongde duozhong zongjiao xinyang henji yanjiu*, Xu Tao's *Zhongguo Manasi shixue yanjiu*, Tolunmi Turghan's *Akehanbieke yu tade shuochang yishu*, Janat Qodaybergan's *Weapon Names in the Manas.* etc.

3.4. Scientific Papers

With the advent of the new century, the deepening of relevant research and the expansion of propaganda, papers on Manas research have become pre-selection of key domestic magazines, and articles on the Manas from various perspectives have been published in journals. According to the Chinese Science Network (CNKI) 108 articles on the Manas were published from 2000 to 2019, increasing year by year since Manas was included in the Intangible Cultural Heritage List by UNESCO. This trend can be seen in the following table:



Due to category restrictions, we are unable to display all articles published in journals at this time. These articles are divided into several categories, highlighting those that are considered authoritative in that category:

1. Bibliographic articles include Wang Wenhua's *Keerkezizu shishi Manasi yanjiu zai Zhongguo*, Adil Jumaturdu's *Ershi shiji Hasakesitan de Manasixue Manas*, Wang Baolong's *Keerkezizu yingxiong shishi Manasi yanjiu zongshu* (Wang 2010: 2) based on the introduction of the Manas study at home and abroad. Such articles have had a positive impact on the promotion of Manas study.

2. Introductory articles include Wu Zhanju's *Heilongjiang keerkezizu yu shishi Manasi*, Ma Xiongfu and Iksak Beshanbeg's *Shishi Manasi neirong tiyao ji yishu jiazhi*, and Lang Ying's *Yingxiong shishi Manasi*, based on the Manas content and story, and the introduction of the Manaschi.

3. Articles on comparative storytelling include Chen Weiguo and Yang Lin's *Yingyi Sapaerbieke Manasi chengben pingjie* and Tokhtububu Esak's *Manasi shishi wuge changben zhong kuokuotuotuoyi de jidian.*

4. Papers on Manaschi and oral tradition include Adil Jumaturdu's *Manasi shishi de koutou tezheng* etc.

5. Articles on Structure and Image include Adil Jumaturdu's *Tujueyu minzu yingxiong shishi jiegou moshi fenxi*, Ma Li's *Keerkezizu yingxiong shishi Manasi muti fenxi* and so on.

6. Articles on translation and dissemination include Liang Zhenhui's *Manasi shishi de wnexue fanyi yanjiu*, Wang Jiguo's Koutou shishi wenben yu yujing—Yidaiyilu changyixia Manasi shishi de yanshu chuantong, and Adil Jumaturdu's Yidaiyilu yu koutou shishi de liubu yu chuanbo which have been the subject of discussion and translation in Manas.

7. Articles on history, religion, and culture include *Keerkezizu maza minus yu yingxiong shishi Manasi*, Jarqin's *Manasi shishi zhongde wulumu keremu kaoshi* (Jarqin 2016: 4), and Adil Jumaturdu's *Manasi shishi yu yisilanjiao*. These articles discussed the religious, historical traces, and cultural traces and understanding of Kyrgyz culture in the epic.

8. Papers on conservation and inheritance include Lang Ying's *Huotai chuancheng – Manasi de chuancheng yu baohu*, Li Fenhua's *Manashi shishi huotai chuanliu de yuanying fenxi*, and He Jihong's *Guanyu renlei koutou ji feiwuzhiyichan Manasi baohu he chuancheng, zhuanxing he fazhan* etc.

It can be seen that since the turn of the new century, Chinese Manas research has evolved from the previous single direction to the multi-discipline one. In addition to the first version of Jüsüp Mamay, the variant mentioned by Ashmat Mambatjüsüp will be published, and in addition to the possibility of comparative study of domestic texts, various aspects such as textual research, translation research, oral, cultural, international perspective etc.

CONCLUSION

In summary, the development of Manas research has been characterized by rapid development since its inception. In 40 years since New China's inception, the reform and opening-up policy has been a two-pronged collection of the Manas with nearly 500,000 verses texts recorded, which are crucial to the formation of Chinese Manas study. In particular, a number of introductory articles were written during this period, which served to promote the Manas domestically. From the opening of the reform to the end of the last century, Jüsüp Mamay's version of the Manas was published in full and reached a wide range of scholars. In addition, a series of scientific seminars on the Manas were held in succession, forming a certain dimension in the Manas study. Nearly 100 articles and 10 academic books were published during this period, establishing the Chinese Manas study. Moreover, the text was translated into Chinese, Uyghur, Kazakh, and English after the turn of the new century. The Manas was studied in the fields of literature, linguistics, sociology, philosophy, culture, and art, and specialized Manas research institutes were established. With this certain scope and influence, the Manas has become one

of the Three Great Epics and a world intangible cultural heritage. However, although the Manas has become part of the global study.[1]

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ECOSYSTEM OF THE COSTUME CULTURE OF THE SHE MINORITY IN CHINA

JING YAN, MENGYAO SUN

ABSTRACT

This paper investigates the costume culture of the She people of Southeast China and examines the cultural change factors related to the life and vitality of their costumes. It is an important proposition that the She and Chinese costume culture can be inherited in a sustainable way. This study is based on field surveys and interviews in She villages in Zhejiang Province. Grounded theory was used to build the ecosystem of the She minority's costume culture. Ecological postmodernism was used to consider ways to develop the intrinsic value of the She costumes to clarify the core vitality of their culture and to explore the contemporary inheritance and development path of their costumes. Based on the data, 111 initial concepts and 20 core concepts were identified, as well as six major axis codes and two systems. The ecosystem of the She's costume culture includes tangible and intangible features: the core of the costume culture includes the belief concept of "loyal descendants," the social concept of "equality and respect," and the natural concept of "things as one." The study indicates that a holistic perspective of costume inheritance is needed to achieve cohesion between the knowledge information society and traditional cultural heritage. The inheritance of She costume culture can be facilitated by complex technology such as 3D printing, virtual reality, and digital preservation.

Keywords: She minority people; costume; cultural ecology; cultural heritage; China.

1. INTRODUCTION

According to the Sixth National Census in 2010, the population of the She people in mainland China is approximately 708,651, ranked 19th among the ethnic minorities (National Bureau of Statistics, 2011). The She people are the only minority living in the inland areas of East China and are mainly distributed in Fujian, Zhejiang, Jiangxi, and Anhui.

Since the beginning of written records, the She people have lived in mountainous and hilly areas with a warm and humid climate. After migrating to the south of Zhejiang, the She also lived on a mountainside, close to the north of the

Tropic of Cancer. They were scattered in these areas, which have a subtropical, humid, monsoon climate, and were interspersed with the Han minority, forming a distribution pattern of "greatly living with the Han, while slightly living together with themselves" (Shi, 1991).

Since the Tang dynasty, the She people have migrated through remote mountains and other areas. Through the years, they have inherited their unique culture, including their national costume referred to as the "Phoenix Dress." However, with the evolution of the times, especially with the progress of transportation and media technologies, multi-directional exchanges between the She and other ethnic groups have become more frequent (Bao, 2017; Wu, 2014). As the breadth and depth of cultural exchanges have continued to expand, and their content and forms become increasingly diverse, the physical barriers of the She's original ecological culture formed by nature are gradually disappearing, and their traditional culture, including their costume, is rapidly changing under the impact of modernization. Traditional She costumes are gradually fading from everyday life amidst changes to traditional ways of working and lifestyle. Concurrently, during special occasions such as the She's cultural festival celebrations or cultural performances for tourists, their costumes are exaggerated to emphasize their cultural characteristics.

The costume culture of the She minority is experiencing an evolution largely induced by the wave of modern culture sweeping the globe, which has vastly altered not only the She culture but also other cultures and subcultures within the reach of modern civilization. In this context, this paper systematically explores the ecology of the She costume culture and examines the cultural change factors related to its life and vitality. The aim is to ensure that the She costume culture specifically, and the Chinese costume culture in general, is inherited through sustainable and realistic methods.

Literature Review

Cultural ecology is a new discipline that developed with the trend of separation, confrontation, and integration of scientism and humanism in the middle of the 20th century. The theory was first developed by American cultural anthropologist Julian Haynes Steward in his theoretical work *Theory of Culture Change: The Methodology of Multilinear Evolution* (1955). He stated that cultural ecology is "A theory that studies the law of cultural generation, development, and variation through the interaction of various factors in the natural and social environments in which human beings exist" (Steward, 1955). China's economy has developed rapidly since its reform and opening up, however against the background of globalization, various cultures that maintain national characteristics have been "ecologically destroyed." (Peng, 2012) As cultural ecology has captured the attention of many scholars, they have introduced related theories, continuously expanded the field and scope of theoretical research, and actively applied the theory during their research, thus, rapidly advancing the field in China.

National costumes can be considered an ecological existence when their development is explored in a different time and space from a cultural ecological

perspective. Economic, political, and geographical factors, among others, affect the changing costume culture, which simultaneously responds to external stimuli while maintaining its own minority and cultural core.

The existing condition and changing course of She costume culture can be elucidated through an exploration of cultural changes in costumes during the course of history, and their locations, which are significant in understanding the impact of the human and social environment on costumes. In so doing, the costume styles of the Baiyue ethnic group of the Minyue kingdom are revealed in the 1,000-year history of She costumes (Yan, 2019). In addition, the Hakka symbols representative of the Han culture are also identified. Furthermore, it is evident that the development of the She's cyanine technology directly impacted the change in its costume color from "colorful"[1] (Shi, 1995) to "all blue"[2] (Wei, 1906). There is also evidence that feudal rule indirectly influenced She costumes to transition from "flowery clothes" to having "no hat and no shoes." "Flowery clothes" were a symbol of the "Dangerous Party"[3] during the migration of the She, which lasted for more than 1,000 years. These events construct a system that reveals the rules guiding the development of the She's costumes and their interaction with the natural and human environment. Further, it reflects the thought paradigm of people from different historical periods, social classes, and backgrounds with different perspectives of the world. Ecological and cultural perspectives are necessary to fully understand the internal structure and operation rules of the She's costume culture ecosystem.

2. CONSTRUCTION OF A CULTURAL ECOSYSTEM: A STUDY OF SHE COSTUMES BASED ON GROUNDED THEORY

After conducting literature research to form a preliminary impression of the research object, the scope of the field survey and outline of the interview were developed. In the process of researching the literature, secondary source materials such as previous research reports, research papers, and video records were collected.

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[1] According to the *nanman Biography in the Book of the Later Han dynasty*, the clothes of She's ancestor Panhu was colorful, woven with wood leather, dyed with fruit, dressed in five colors, and with a tail shape (织绩木皮，染以果实，好五色衣服，制裁皆有尾形). It is recorded in *Yunxiao County Records* that the hairstyle of the ancient She people living in Zhangzhou in the Tang Dynasty was a "top bun" and that their clothing "looks like flowers" (椎髻卉服). *Chi Ya,* folk literature of Ming Dynasty, contains: "(according to) Yuxi Liu's poem, She people wore multicolored clothes when they offered sacrifices to their ancestor Panhu (刘禹锡诗，时节祀盘瓠是也...其衣五彩). *The history and Culture of the She Minority* also contains: "In the Tang and Song Dynasties, the She women were popular in the fashion of '椎髻卉服', that is, the headwear was high bun and the dress was laced."

[2] According to the book *She Customs* in Later Qing Dynasty, all the She women wore blue clothes (畲服皆服青衣).

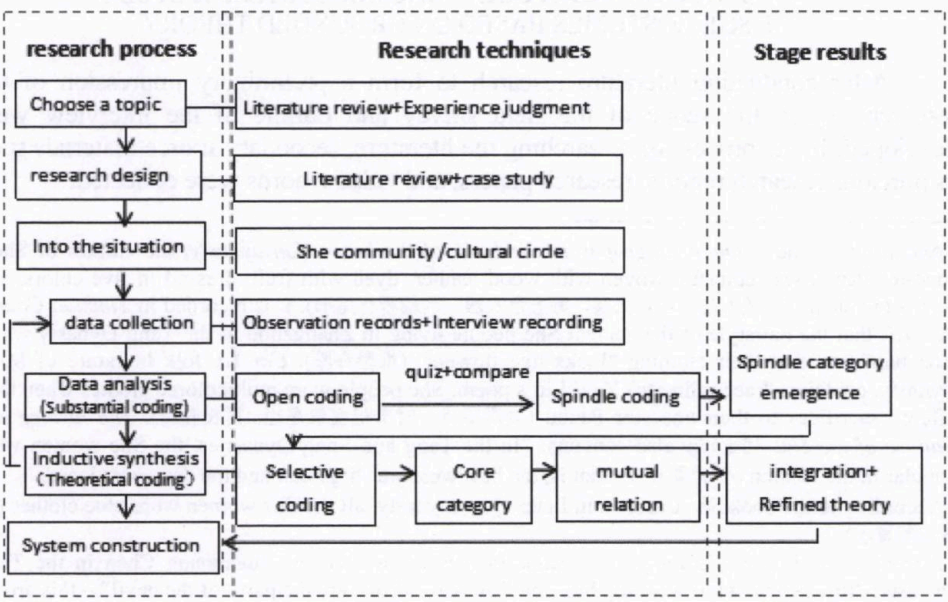
[3] According to *Letter of Zhangzhou Feudal Provincial,* written by Yuanguang Chen in the Tang Dynasty: "(the people who) wear top bun and flowerlike dress, are the party of the devil" – this article is recorded in *Entire Donovan* volume 164. (唐朝陈元光《漳州刺史谢表》. "椎髻卉裳，尽是妖氛之党"——此文载《全唐文》卷 164).

During fieldwork, a large volume of field interview material was collected on She costume culture. To organize the interview content systematically, this study used a grounded theory method, i.e., the analysis of objects or phenomena to obtain a more comprehensive explanation of the essential connotation therein. The methods of analysis for grounded theory are primarily inductive methods conducive to a holistic study of the phenomenon or problem in context. They summarize conclusions or theories from the data and explain the behavior and meaning through continuous interaction with the research object (Strauss, 1994; Chen, 1996).

The researchers in this study examined interviewees' original statements and analyzed the interview data, after which the key points were open-coded. The initial codes were summarized and classified to produce the main axis coding which was then categorized. Finally, the objective laws and nature of the phenomenon reflected by the category were analyzed to derive the theory and construction system. The essence of this research is the interaction and relevance of the data in various disciplines. Coding the data level by level is the most important part of grounded theory, which includes three levels of coding.

Figure 1 illustrates a linear process, however, the actual research process is a continuous round-trip and progresses in a spiral manner. Data collection and analysis are performed alternately; that is, the data are analyzed each time they are obtained. The concept or category obtained through the analysis is not only compared with existing concepts and categories but also becomes the basis for guiding the next stage of sample selection and data collection.

Figure 1: Research process based on grounded theory



2.1. Data collection

Based on previous literature research, the original data collected in this study were mainly from field investigations that used questionnaires and interviews (with audio recording). Each questionnaire was preceded by a statement informing the respondents of its purpose (purely academic), background (investigator and academic institution, etc.), and confidentiality (anonymous) to ensure its authenticity. The interviewees were also informed before each interview that the interviews would be recorded, and all interviewees gave informed consent verbally. The interviewees mainly comprised, but were not limited to, people belonging to the She cultural heritage and cultural workers (Table 1) in Jingning and surrounding areas and the interviews were conducted primarily from July to August 2017. Because the interviewees include a variety of people related to the inheritance of the She costume tradition, the information can comprehensively reflect the cultural ecosystem of She costume and people's cognition of it.

Table 1: List of interviewees

	Category	Name	Age (2017)
Government personnel	Chairman of Jingning County CPPCC[4]	Yan Yihua	54
	Director of Jingning Minzong Bureau	Lei Weifen (She)	39
Related to She culture	Jingning Minzong Bureau Chief of Ethnic Group	Lei Yilin (She)	35
	She Museum narrator	Mao Lizhen	28
	Jing Ningfeng Secretary of Jinshan She minority village	Lan Wenzhong (She)	45
	Member of Jingning Literature and History Committee	Lei Guangzhen (She)	56
Operators or practitioners of the She cultural industry	Chairman of Shexiang International Travel Agency	Li Qingzong	\
	Director of Jingning TV Station	Liu Jinmeng	53
	Chairman of Longfeng costume	Lei Xianying (She)	54
	Chairman of Golden Beauty Fashion Design Studio	Huang Jingmei	43
Inheritors of the intangible cultural heritage of the She minority	Inheritor of the She Costume	Lei Yicai (She)	83
	Inheritor of the She rite Chuanshixueshi	Lei Liangqing (She)	71
	Ribbon weaving inheritor	Lan Yanlan (She)	50
	She language inheritor	Lan Xianlan (She)	54
	She folk song inheritor	Lei Xihua (She)	70
	Inheritor of the ancestors' memorial tablet carving tradition	Lan Tucheng	70

[4] Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

She teachers, promoters of the She culture, and She people with a strong sense of clan	Lei Yi Cai'son	Lei Longfu (She)	54
	Lan Tucheng's disciple	Zhong Xiaobo (She)	24
	Reporter from Jingning TV Station	Zhong Jianming (She)	27
	Retired teacher from Peitou Minority Primary School in Wencheng County	Zhong Weilu (She)	69
Others	Yungang Hegang Yanggang Village	Lan Guanhai (She)	75
	Jingning Tochigi Village	Lan Yuancong (She)	45
	College students in Jingning Hexi Town	Lei Min (She)	22

3. RESULTS

3.1. Data analysis and synthesis

A grounded theory process was followed to substantively encode the obtained documents. Table 2 presents examples of the open encoding conducted to summarize the initial concept (see the Appendix[5] for complete information). An open mind must be kept when analyzing the data derived from the original interview recordings, as subconscious biases might affect the validity and reliability of the results. For example, if a researcher has the subconscious bias that among the She people, embroidery is women's work, then it might be assumed that the patterns of embroidery represent the thoughts of She women. However, this consideration is incorrect, because mostly male tailors perform embroidery work.

Table 2: Part of initial data encoding

Original statement	Open coding (Initial conceptualization)	Open coding (Core conceptualization)
"Red and yellow ribbons are used. The yellow and red ones can be dyed by ourselves before, which means auspicious or life is booming. The pattern of mouse teeth and water drops represents health, auspicious, and positive."	a35 Auspicious	Wishes and blessings
"The five lines on the edge originally meant the harvests of the five grains were plentiful. The welts meant the auspicious wishes of the She people. The five colors represent the Grain Harvest."	a36 Harvest	
"Only weaving one kind of pattern on a white base all through also means one heart, one mind, one life."	a37 Content	

[5] This has a long interview and supporting content (readers who would like additional information can contact the authors).

"The patterns are just like totems on a lace. This lace has four colors, representing the four surnames of Pan, Lan, Lei, Zhong (the main four kinds of She surnames): black, red, green, and purple. Generally, the She costumes are composed of five colors, with black or cyan black as the base, and the remaining four colors, red, blue, green, and purple, are twisted into embroidery on the clothes to become four pipings. That the four colors are twisted into one represents that the four She groups unite as one. In addition to the Water ripple, there are rat teeth, which mean unity of purpose; the rat teeth are very sharp, representative of being very powerful." Mouse teeth represent the unity and determination of the She people, as sharp as mouse teeth ..."	a38 National Unity; a108 Firm and Strong	National character
"Fish and water are not separated. The patterns of a few fish behind the waves indicate the close relationship as fish and water."	a39 Relationship between fish and water	Convey emotion
"In addition to silver ornaments, there are ivory white and black, red, and other ceramic beads on the crown. The different combinations symbolize the 24 solar terms."	a40 24 solar terms	Meteorological
"After crossing nine rivers and nine mountains, and the ninth river called the White Bird River, the ancestors could not survive, and stayed for a few days. Finally, God was moved and sent nine phoenixes to take our ancestors across the river. To commemorate this, the Shes made the headpiece like a phoenix, with phoenix patterns on both sides, and the girls of the She people wore phoenix crowns. There is a sound in the silver ornaments here, and there is a saying that it is the sound of a phoenix. A Phoenix represents the princess SanGongzhu (literally, the third princess). (She people in Jing Ning) take the phoenix as the mascot ..."	a41 Phoenix totem; a109 The third princess	Totem worship
"The crown is decorated with a round silver medal, three small silver medals hanging on the card, hanging on the forehead, the She people call it 'LongJi'" (literally "Dragon headwear").	a42 Dragon totem	

After surveying the acquired materials and repeatedly examining the theoretical concepts and their categories, the data continued to be circulated, compared, and analyzed until theory saturation was reached, and no new relationships, concepts, or categories emerged. Ultimately, 111 initial concepts and 20 core concepts were abstracted from the data. The concept categories were further established, and six main axis codes and two systems were summarized (Tables 3 and 4).

Table 3: She minority costume culture coding system (material culture)

Open coding (Initial conceptualization)	Open coding (Core conceptualization)	Main axis codes (Categorization)	Selective codes (Core categorization)	Nature of the core category
a1; a2; a3; a4; a5; a79	Color	Physical Properties	Material Culture	Material, in the face of the material world. Refers to the external materialized attributes of costumes created by the She people.
a6; a7; a8; a9; a10; a11; a12; a13	Texture			
a15; a16; a17; a18; a23; a24; a25; a26	Modeling			
a21; a22; a81; a84	Pattern			

Table 4: She minority costume culture substantial coding system (immaterial culture)

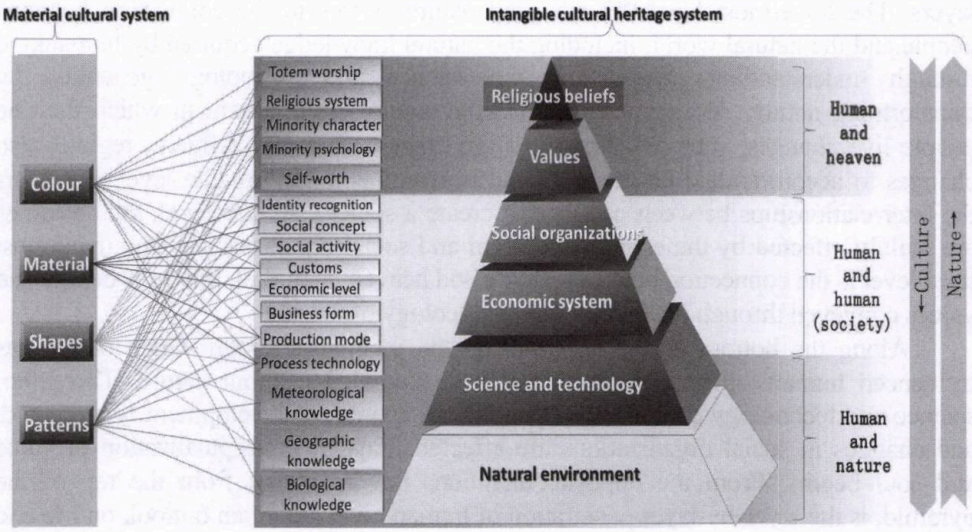
Open coding (Initial conceptualization)	Open coding (Core conceptualization	Main axis codes (Categorization)	Selective codes (Core categorization)	Nature of the core category
a41; a42; a109	Totem Worship	Religion	Human and heaven	The relationship between human and his belief environment. "Heaven" includes the thinking and expression related to the soul, such as human life customs and religious belief.
a58; a88	Religious system			
a38; a108	Minority character	Values		
a35; a43; a90	Minority psychology			
a49; a98	Self-worth			
a46; a47; a71; a72; a77; a97	Identity recognition	Social organization	Human and human (society)	The relationship between people and the social environment in which they live. Social environment refers to the human environment gradually created and established by humans based on the natural environment, including various social identities and distinctions between people.
a37; a53; a54; a70; a45; a75; a85; a94; a95; a99	Social concept			
a57; a59; a62; a63; a67; a92	Social activity			
a44; a86; a48; a56	Customs			
a65; a73; a74; a87; a89	Economic level	Economic system		
a52	Business form			
a36; a50; a51; a55; a61; a66; a110; a111	Production mode			

a19; a20; a27; a28; a29; a30; a31; a32; a33; a34; a68; a76; a78; a80; a82; a82; a83	Process technology	Science & Technology	Human and nature	The relationship between people and their natural environment. "Earth" refers to the natural world surrounding human beings. It includes the atmosphere, water, soil, living things, and various mineral resources.
a40; a60; a96	Meteorological knowledge	Natural knowledge		
a69; a64; a100; a105	Geographic knowledge			
a101; a93; a14; a102; a103; a104; a107	Biological knowledge			

3.2. Refinement of Theory and System Construction

The concepts and categories formed in the previous process of substantial coding were then organized and aggregated, and the implicit interrelationships such as juxtaposition, causality, and progression were explored to refine the theory and construct the system. When the theory cannot be saturated through theoretical coding, the entire research process must be retraced, theoretical re-sampling conducted, or selective coding again performed to replenish new data and achieve theoretical saturation. Through these means, a model of the She costume culture ecosystem was constructed, as shown in Figure 2. The cultural system and intangible cultural system are composed of two parts. The material cultural system includes color, materials, shapes, patterns, and other physical material factors. The intangible cultural system includes totem worship and other non-physical material factors portrayed in the She costumes.

Figure 2: Culture ecosystem of the She minority's costumes



3.2.1. Relationship between the material cultural system and intangible cultural system in She costumes

According to the correlation revealed in the interview content, material cultural factors can relate to intangible cultural factors, as shown in the connection diagram on the left in Figure 2. The number of connecting lines in the figure reflects that the modeling of She costumes carries the most abundant intangible cultural information, followed by color and pattern, and that the material is principally related to society and the natural environment. Currently, She costumes are influenced by many social factors and have a complex and rich relationship with society. The social function of these costumes is relatively dominant, which also reflects the influence of the natural environment on them. Furthermore, the spiritual world is embodied in the costumes.

The connection diagram is based on information gleaned from original statements collected from the interviews and literature research. This initial research focused on various elements regarding minority costumes, but it is emphasized that these costumes develop and change constantly. Thus, this study can only reflect the connection between the factors pertaining to the costumes and ecological factors confirmed in this research. This does not mean that unconnected links do not exist between the costume and ecological factors. Moreover, it can be predicted that with further collection of information on She costumes in follow-up studies, additional links thus far unidentified between material and intangible factors will be found.

3.2.2. The internal relationship of the intangible cultural system in She costumes

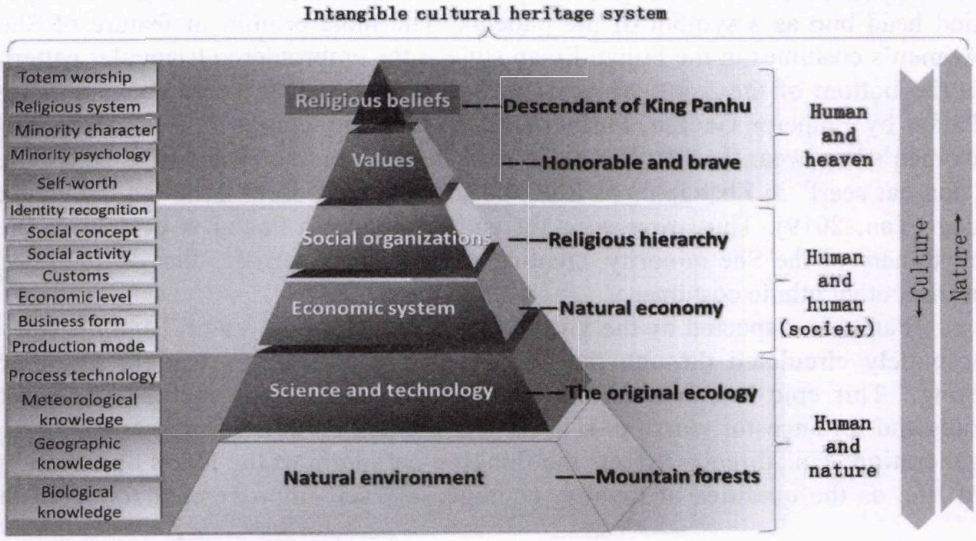
On the right side in Figure 2, the intangible cultural system is condensed into six categories by aggregating its intangible factors, and, as can be seen, its internal relationship presents a pyramid-shaped structure. The pyramid is divided into three layers. The lowermost level "Human and nature" refers to the connection between people and the natural world, including the natural knowledge acquired by humankind through understanding nature, and the science and technology generated by transforming nature. As mentioned, when the natural environment in which the She people live changes, such as after migration, their costume in different regions also changes to accommodate the local natural environment. The middle level represents the interrelationships between people that create a society. At this level, the costumes are mainly affected by the economic system and social organizations. The uppermost third level is the connection between people and heaven, including religious beliefs and values conveyed through obedience and the ideology of the soul.

Along the bottom of the pyramid are the methods through which nature has influenced humans. First, people should have knowledge about nature. Thereafter, science and technology can be developed. Third, economic development is promoted, and changes in social organizations are affected. Finally, conceptualization of value and soul begins. From the opposite direction, flowing down from the top of the pyramid, is the layer-by-layer penetration of human civilization: an outlook on life and

values is generated from beliefs, which in turn determines the organizational structure of society and hierarchy of ethnic groups, and then affects the economic system and its development. Based on the economy, science and technology can be promoted and progress made before people can finally affect change in the world. This whole process is known as "civilization."

Based on information gleaned from the interviews, Figure 3 uses modern She costumes as an example. As shown, this system is led by religious belief at the top, namely the worship of King Panhu, who is regarded as the ancestor of the She people. Through ancestor worship, the She spread his stories of defeating the country's enemy and being knighted. The characterization of Panhu creates a national character of bravery, loyalty, and nobility, which gives the She the courage and fortitude to survive under Han rule. She women wear "Phoenix headwear" almost everywhere because it is said to be passed down from Panhu's wife. The social hierarchy in this ethnic group is determined by the level of the people's religious identities. Furthermore, the structure of their social organization is based on four major branches, which represent the four sons of Panhu. In the social environment in which they are ruled by the Han and Manchu, the She people have limited resources, which historically has meant that their economic level has been difficult to improve. They generally adopted a self-sufficient natural economy, and primary business activities include occasional bartering such as giving wood in exchange for clothes. Thus, the development of their costume indicates the trajectory following mainstream costume changes. Their production methods usually include shift farming, gathering, and hunting, which have led to an accumulation of rich ecological technologies and knowledge of the natural forest environment.

Figure 3: Immaterial cultural culture ecosystem of She minority costumes in modern times



In summary, as a dual representation of both material and spiritual civilization, She costumes not only reflect the natural and technical conditions of their living environment and production methods but also portray their state of mind, such as ethnic consciousness, religious beliefs, social concepts, social attitudes, and aesthetic tendencies. This reflects the relationship between and the role of natural ecosystems and human culture ecosystems.

4. THE CORE OF THE SHE'S COSTUME CULTURE ECOSYSTEM – A THINKING PARADIGM OF OBSERVING THE WORLD

The She costume culture ecosystem demonstrates the interaction between their costumes and the natural and human environment and reflects the thinking paradigm of how they observe the world. As such, this thought paradigm is believed to guide the entire culture.

4.1. Belief of "Brave Descendants": The Thought Paradigm of "Human and Heaven"

The most prominent aspect of the She's original religion is worship of the legendary ancestor Panhu. The epic "Gao Emperor Song" describes how Panhu was born in the ears of Emperor Gaoxin, and then killed the chief of the enemy and married the third princess, before settling in Guangdong (Jiang, 1985).

The evolution of She costumes interacts with the cultures of other ethnic groups in the surrounding areas. Although the She's ethnic purity has remained relatively stable, cross-cultural integration does exist in some cultural aspects, such as in their costumes (Xie, 2002). Despite this mingling of cultures, the She people retain at their core the worship of Panhu. Ethnic She brides replicate the dress style of Panhu's wife by wearing the "Phoenix dress" and using a red rope-tied head bun as a symbol of the phoenix. The most prominent feature of She women's costumes in the Fujian Fu'an style is the embroidered triangular pattern at the bottom of the front, which is said to imitate half the seal given to King Panhu by Emperor Gaoxin. Furthermore, Fujian She women in Shunchang call women's headwear the "Panhu hat," and in Jiangxi the She headscarf is called the "dog-ear scarf" in Zhangping as it is said to have come from imitating the Panhu dog (Yan, 2019). Thus, reverence for and reference to Panhu is evident in the costumery of the She minority, creating distinct characteristics that differentiate it from other ethnic costumes.

Panhu is respected by the She people as the "King of Valor," and his story is widely circulated through the She folklore masterpiece "Gaoxin Emperor Song." This epic is also used in important life celebrations such as She adult rites and for ancestor worship. It is recited and passed down from generation to generation. This directly affects the thinking paradigm of the She's observation of life, as the qualities of loyalty, courage, and self-improvement reflected in

the legend of Panhu are a part of the She's inherent national character and life values.

4.2. The social concept of "equality and respect"

The She's appeal for national self-esteem and equality is apparent through a deep study of their costumes. The She people are a scattered minority. Compared with the culture of the Han, the largest ethnic minority in China, that of the She is weak. According to Jing Ning's fieldwork,[6] the She reported that their people generally lived on the mountainside before liberation, while the Han people lived both at the foot and at the top of the mountain. The Han had ruled the She for generations. Their weak cultural position has caused the She people to form a national cultural psychology encompassing both self-respect and inferiority. Under these circumstances, the She people's costumes and their display of Panhu and the three princesses were widely recognized and loved by them, because they played a cultural role in spreading the heroic deeds of their ancestors, demonstrating their national spirit and raising national pride.

Simultaneously, the She people have had the courage to resist. The people's sense of unyielding defiance against oppression and their pursuit of equality and respect are often expressed in their costumes as cultural symbols. The She people in Chiling, Yanping of northern Fujian, place three kinds of sword-like silver hairpins, commonly known as "three knives," on their heads, which is said to be a relic of resisting external assaults from the Ming dynasty (She Minority Research Association, 2013).

Furthermore, in the history of She costume development, there have been incidents of costumes changing to reflect the struggle for national equality. For example, in the late Qing Dynasty, to avoid the She people in eastern Fujian from being regarded as different because of their clothes, Zhong Dakun (She) advised them to redesign their costumes and to share this advice throughout all She communities (Lan, 2007). Undoubtedly, changing clothes to suit Han culture is one kind of mechanical assimilation, which cannot fundamentally change the deep-rooted ethnic discrimination nor the fate of the She people; however, during the feudal era, as the spokesperson for the She people, Zhong Dakun exhibited his inherent rights and self-respect.

4.3. The Nature View of "Things as One": The Paradigm of "Human and nature"

The material composition of She costumes suits the geographic and climatic conditions of their environment. For example, the traditional costume fabrics of the She minority principally use the high-strength bast fiber ramie, which is strong and

[6] From February 16 to March 9, 2004, and November 29 to December 5, 2004, collected by Lei Guangzhen (35 years old, male, She ethnic minority), Cultural Relics Management Committee of Jingning She Autonomous County, Lishui City, Zhejiang Province

durable. Furthermore, because hemp fiber absorbs and releases moisture, and has good air permeability, it is ideal for the humid climate and hot summers of the mountain and forest environment of the She people's living areas. The She people maintain the proverb: "Eat salty, and wear blue." Having lived for many centuries in hilly areas with beautiful mountains and rivers, their costumes are usually black, or blue and black.

The She's understanding of the concept of the environment is one of "people and nature living in harmony and all things can be used by us." The She people do not consider the environment as separate from themselves or as something to reform and conquer, but as part of their lives. They are very familiar with the natural world that surrounds them and utilize natural resources sustainably. The grandest festival of the She celebrated on March 3, the Wufan Festival (Black Rice Festival), commemorates the legendary hero Lei Wanxing, who according to legend, gained strength after eating rice soaked in the magic leaves of the mountains. On March 3 every year, people climb the mountain to pick the leaves of the Chinese tallow tree to make Wufan.

The traditional costumes of the She also reflect the people's understanding of nature and use of natural resources. According to the Nanman (literally, barbarian in the south) Biography, Book of the Later Han Dynasty,[7] the She's ancestors were used to "weaving wood veneers and dyeing them with fruits."[8] In the history of the She people, they were once called "Jingke" (Jing people) (Lan, 2003) and renowned for their technique of producing the dye Dian Qing, also called "Jing" in the Ming Dynasty. The dye is blue, and most of the She's clothes and religious costumes were dyed this color, which is closely related to their excellent technique. Including this blue, the traditional dyes used by the She were generally plant dyes, although food dyes were also occasionally used for costumes. For example, in the area of Jingning, the fruit of the gardenia is called "yellow seed." Today, it is used to dye "yellow rice root" (a local rice cake with yellow skin). According to the local people, the yellow seed was also used to dye clothes and ribbon thread, and wolfberry was used to create the color red. Moso bamboo is seen everywhere in the She community. It is burned to create the "burnt ash" called "Jian" by the people and is used for dyeing.

The Chinese character 畲 means "fire farming, burning grass and trees in the field, and using farm ash as fertilizer for farming." The She, with a mentality of "as it should be," accept and use the gift of nature. They measure and take only as

[7] *The Later Han Dynasty* is a biographical history book compiled by Ye Fan, a historian during the Southern Song Dynasty. The book mainly records the history of the Eastern Han Dynasty from the first year of Emperor Guangwu's reign (AD 25) to the 25th year of Emperor Xian's reign (AD 220), a total of 195 years.

[8] (Original) text: 织绩木皮，染以果实.

much as needed. Nature becomes their collective consciousness, and they do not consider themselves separate from their environment.

5. CULTURAL HERITAGE FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF ECOLOGICAL POSTMODERNISM

Today, the She and other ethnic groups are facing deconstruction and transmutation. It is possible to find an opportunity for survival by examining the internal structure of the She costume culture ecosystem and the mechanism through which it is operated from an ecological culture perspective. This is because when considering She costumes from the perspective of ecological postmodernism, we can better understand its harmonious coexistence with surrounding cultural factors and better respect its view of nature, nationality, consumption, rationality, and inevitability reflected therein. When realizing the intrinsic value of costume culture through the concept of ecological postmodernism, we substantiate and give meaning to this aspect of She culture, and despite the encroachment of modern civilization, improve the probability of costume inheritance and advancement of traditions through future generations. This provides new possibilities for research on national traditional costume to ensure the development of its practical significance.

5.1. Concept of the organic whole and inner harmony

It is important to clarify what is meant when we refer to "inheriting national costumes." Some might consider that we are referring to artistic elements and aesthetic tastes such as materials, colors, patterns, and shapes. Others may think that it refers to a variety of craftsmanship from spinning and weaving to dyeing, cutting, and embroidery. Still others believe that "inheriting national costumes" refers to the ideology of values, cognition, social background, and national complex.

All aspects of the costume culture are indispensable components of She costumes, which is evident in the construction of the She costume culture ecosystem discussed in this paper. All facets as a whole constitute a complete costume culture. Therefore, when considering the inheritance of She costumes, the first step is to examine the topic comprehensively and not only as "material art." In the contemporary development of She costumes, its related artistic characteristics, craft skills, and cultural concepts must be comprehensively analyzed, and we must avoid modifying its appearance without considering its inherent cultural information and national spirit.

In addition, it is necessary to adopt different means of inheritance for different She costume culture elements and to strive for complete protection based on reasonable development. Regarding the dimension of the material and cultural inheritance of She costumes, it is necessary to first study the people in depth to collect, organize, and preserve historical relics. Consequently, the categorization

and analysis of the material characteristics of these relics is necessary to explore the She's aesthetic taste and craftsmanship. In the domain of the intangible cultural heritage of the She costumes, general understanding of their cultural background and history should be explored. To systematically summarize and reveal the true meaning and characteristics of the traditional costumes, the conditions thereof must be researched, relevant records in cultural classics must be excavated and arranged and supplemented by field inspections and other means, and experts and scholars from various fields must converge to discuss and analyze these costumes from various perspectives.

Concurrently, the inheritance of the She minority's costume culture and of other ethnic cultures is a "systematic project" that includes not only the preservation of cultural heritage objects and the skills to construct them, but also the structural and systematic adjustment of society, economy, and politics. Participants are not only the She and the government, but also those who support cultural diversity, such as social enterprises, social groups, and individual citizens. Therefore, attention should also be paid to actively mobilize and coordinate the people of all social strata and identities.

5.2. Respect and care for the culture of the life community

The fulcrum of reversing power consciousness is regarding other living creatures that coexist in the world as being completely equal with oneself and treating plural common prosperity as the first prerequisite for development. On this basis, we should attach importance to the inherent core values of group culture (especially those that are the disadvantaged), respect for their mode of survival, and enhancement of their vitality to truly guarantee their prosperity and continuity.

Through field investigations, the vitality of She costumes continues. Taking the Luoyuan-style She costumes in Fujian as example, although many industrial-produced woven belts are now used, these do not weaken the national style but add to its brilliance. Lan Quchai, a national intangible cultural heritage inheritor of local She costumes, said that "change" is a gradual process: "It is not okay to change too much at once, even to be too beautiful at once," as "it will be too mincing to wear if I add all the decorations at once. The people will dare not wear it out. So, we need to increase the decoration little by little, and accept the test of the masses. I will keep them only if everyone says they look good." This creative way of thinking about constant adjustment and flexible development alongside other opinions has meant that the costumes made by Lan Quchai have become the representative work the She people acknowledge as the highest level of the Luo Yuan-style costumes. For example, from Nanshan village, it is more convenient to go to the Ningde urban area than to Luoyuan, but the villagers travel to Luoyuan to see Lan Quchai to make their She costumes. They believe that the masters who live in Ningde city can only create Fu'an-style costumes, which is not the traditional She costume style of Nanshan village. This demonstrates that the inheritance of

costumes needs the voices of the She people, including their wishes and opinions, as they are the wearers of these costumes. Otherwise, it will become a fashion item inspired by She elements, rather than a national dress recognized by the She people as representing their image.

Thus, the motivation of She costume inheritance should be rooted in respect and love, while the object of its inheritance should be the beauty and vitality integrated within these costumes. The first step in the process of inheritance is to arouse the ethnic consciousness and cultural belonging of the She people and to inspire others' love for their costumes, rather than maintain the "apparent prosperity" of their costumes through compulsory means.

5.3. The knowledge information society and traditional culture inheritance

According to the operating laws of the She costume culture ecosystem, the She costume culture has its own vitality, which will change with the unavoidable influence of the surrounding cultural environment. Therefore, those who inherit She costumes and culture can only actively seek for space and survival in the new era, as time and traditions cannot stand still. At present, China has begun to enter a transitional stage from an industrial society to an information society. The rise of information technology and the knowledge economy has significantly impacted the concept and practice of ecological postmodernism. At the Sustainable Development Summit held in Johannesburg, South Africa in 2002, the development of a green economy and use of science and technology to solve ecological and environmental problems was advocated (Bao, 2014). Ideas were shared on how to regenerate She costumes in terms of future development. The development of science and technology and of culture is not necessarily a contradictory relationship. From the perspective of ecological modernism, the two can be linked through complex technologies to achieve a win-win situation. Currently, many experts, scholars, and social groups have made beneficial explorations in this field, such as through digital preservation, information dissemination, network supply, and marketing of traditional She costumes.

6. SUMMARY AND OUTLOOK

This study applied grounded theory to delineate the She minority's costume culture ecosystem. In total, 111 initial concepts and 20 core concepts were extracted from the data, and six major axis codes and two systems were summarized. The material aspects of the She's costume culture ecosystem includes color, material, shape, pattern, and other physical and chemical factors. Its intangible features include religious beliefs, values, social organizations, economic systems, science and technology, natural knowledge, and other non-physicalized categories that are portrayed on the She costumes. The core of the She costume culture ecosystem includes the belief in "loyal descendants," social concept of

"equality and respect," and natural concept of "no separation between natural and human entities."

Utilizing the perspective of ecological postmodernism to observe the inheritance of the She's costume culture, we see that costume inheritance needs to be from the perspective of an organic overall view, an internal harmonious view, and a culture that respects and cares for the community of life to achieve a win-win situation between the knowledge information society and traditional cultural heritage. In the contemporary development of China, it is necessary to comprehensively analyze and rationally improve its artistic characteristics, craftsmanship, and cultural concepts. The motivation for surrendering and inheriting is rooted in respect and love, and inheritance begins with the beauty and harmony integrated within its vitality. The inheritance of She costume culture can be perpetuated by complex technology such as 3D printing, virtual reality, and digital preservation, amongst others.

This study aims to solve the problem of "what exactly do we inherit when we say 'inherit traditional costume culture.'" This paper constructs a cultural ecosystem model applicable to most ethnic groups. According to this model, we cannot only view, study and preserve ethnic costumes in a more comprehensive way, but also grasp the core of ethnic costume cultures more clearly, so as to better understand and promote ethnic costumes. Therefore, this study is beneficial to all people related to the inheritance of She costumes, such as related research scholars, administrative personnel, inheritors and She people. However, this study has some limitations, mainly in two aspects of validity and reliability. As to validity, it is very time-consuming using grounded theory to address the raw data process. It requires continuous comparison, thought, analysis, and conversion of data to be developed into concepts and established as theory. In this study, for example, the text translated from recordings of field surveys conducted in August 2017 alone resulted in more than 50,000 words. While this study initially began in 2004, the original data accumulated over the last 14 years was extensive and jumbled, requiring great time and difficulty to analyze. In terms of reliability, the grounded theory method depends heavily on data, thus, it is necessary to continuously excavate and collect new data and to interact with it. At the same time, the typicality and authenticity of cases must be ensured, so as to guarantee the accuracy and comprehensiveness of conclusions. From this point of view, this study can never reach its "end point," but can only constantly approach perfection.[9]

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THE PLACE AND IMPORTANCE OF THE KARAGÖZ SHADOW PLAYS WITHIN THE TRADITIONAL TURKISH CYPRIOT THEATRE

HÜSEYIN EZILMEZ

ABSTRACT

With Cyprus coming under the Ottoman rule (in August 1571), masses of Anatolian Turks placed on the island brought with them their traditional performing arts. The traditional Turkish theatre, which with the invasion was carried to the island, after gaining some Cypriot features, evolved into becoming the 'Turkish Cypriot Theatrical Plays'. The shadow play known more commonly as 'Karagöz', due to its protagonist, is the most popular among Turkish Cypriots. In this study I will try to determine the place, importance and features of the Karagöz Shadow Play within the traditional Turkish Cypriot theatre; as well as evaluate the themes and characters (stereotypes) of the contemporary Karagöz texts of the artist Mehmet Ertuğ, who has introduced Karagöz to the younger generations by carrying the tradition on to the present.

Keywords: Tradition, Cyprus, Karagöz, Mehmet Ertuğ, Folk Culture.

INTRODUCTION

The Turks have had an oral (improvised) theatre tradition since the earliest periods of history. Our ancestors brought the Central Asian steppe culture, which was mainly based on nomadic movement, creating a very rich oral theatre tradition in Anatolia. Traditional Turkish theatre is an entirely oral theatre that is based on music, dance, mimic, accent imitation and improvisation. *Karagöz* (Shadow Play), *Ortaoyunu* (Low Comedy), *Meddah* (Public Storytelling), *Kukla* (Puppet), *Theatrical Village Plays* (Public Theatre) are the main genres of the traditional Turkish theatre. The traditional Turkish theatre introduced to Cyprus since the second half of the 16th century forms the first experience of the Turkish Cypriot theatre. Gaining specific features in time, the traditional Turkish Cypriot theatre became one of the richest and most essential colours of Turkish Cypriot folklore

and literature. This type of theatre has been staged for centuries, since the conquest of Cyprus by the Ottomans (in 1571); in villages as *Theatrical Village Plays* and in towns and cities as *Karagöz*/Shadow Play, *Meddah*/Public Storytelling and *Ortaoyunu*/Low Comedy. However, today this tradition is gradually fading as it is outside the fast-pace and forever changing life conditions and concepts of entertainment and trend brought by the means of technology.

We do not have any information-documentation about exactly when the traditional Turkish theatre or theatre plays came to Cyprus. In addition, there is no information shining light on the first performers or theatre groups of these plays in Cyprus. It is necessary to mention that, even among the works of Metin And; who, with his research and valuable books is considered one of the greatest authorities in the field of traditional Turkish theatre, not a single line of information about traditional Turkish Cypriot theatre exists. In his book *Geleneksel Türk Tiyatrosu* (Traditional Turkish Theatre), And mentions that *Karagöz*, the *Low Comedy* and other Turkish theatrical arts were widely spread in areas outside of Turkey. He gives information about these plays, which were staged in the Middle East and Balkan countries (And 1969: 143-146, 238). However, the studies of the famous researcher do not include Turkish Cypriot theatre plays. This is probably due to the lack of documentation. Since the beginning of the Turkish presence in Cyprus, from the 16th century until the end of the 19th century, there was no written work or documentation showing the existence of a traditional Turkish Cypriot theatre on the island. Since there are no written documents of the old chapters/articles of *Karagöz*, the *Low Comedy* and *Public Storytelling* scripts, we do not have any repertoire of these plays. The oldest texts of the traditional Turkish Cypriot theatre are composed of some small pieces compiled in the early 1900s. In addition, the information that exists in the works of the researchers of Turkish Cypriot folk literature and folklore, has been provided by people who have seen these plays, accumulated from their memories and scribed from episodes they remembered from the plays, also dating back earliest to the beginning of the 20th century.

On the other hand, the sources of Turkish Cypriot literature and cultural history agrees that the traditional Turkish theatre has been brought from Anatolia to the island since 1571 and has gradually turned into theatrical plays specific to Cyprus (Ertuğ, 1993: 3).

Ersoy (1998: 3) and Atun (2010: 24) repeats Ertuğ's views. Admittedly, whether it was brought to the island in 1571 or later, it is obvious that the Turkish Cypriots have added their own characteristics to the plays and established a traditional Turkish Cypriot theatre on the island.This theatre advances in two branches-traditions: The first one is the oral, dramatic character Public Theatre leaded by the *Karagöz*, Public Storytelling, Low Comedy and Puppet Theatre; the second one is the Theatrical Village Plays (Public Theatre), which is mostly developed in rural areas, performed in villages and has both verbal and non-verbal forms.

In this article, the Shadow Play (or more commonly known to the public as *Karagöz*) in the traditional Turkish Cypriot theatre will be introduced and studied.

1. THE TURKISH CYPRIOT *KARAGÖZ*

The Shadow Play is a theatrical play which is screened by reflecting the shadows of certain coloured typologies usually made of camel skin on a white screen. There are different views about its point of origin; India, Java, or China. It become known in Anatolia around the 16th century (And 1969: 111–121).

Even today, Karagöz is loved and conserved by Turkish Cypriots. There are many idioms and sayings that make references to *Karagöz* and live vividly in the Turkish Cypriot dialect. For example; our people call "comical-fool-fawning-buffoon" types of people or people who behave like this as *Garagöz (Karagöz)*: *Karagöz herif, bir gün olsun insan gibi konuş, dedi* (You Karagöz, talk sensibly for once, he said) (Gökçeoğlu 2008: 122). Also, phrases like *Karagözlük etmek* (to amuse people by doing comic imitations) are used for "the entertainer, non-sedate people" (Gökçeoğlu 1994: 60); and *Karagözlük yapmak* (to mess around) for those who "pretend not to understand, who acts foolishly or who put forward wish-wash thoughts": *En ciddi işlerde bile Karagözlük yapıp çevresindekileri güldürmeye çalışırdı* (He would mess around even in the most serious matters just to make people laugh) (Gökçeoğlu 2008: 122; Kabataş 2009: 361). In addition, idioms like *Karagöz oynatmak* (to perform Karagöz), to describe "a funny situation", or *Karagöz perdesine dönmek* (to become a Karagöz's screen), when talking about a place where "the entrants are not known" or for "a complicated situation" are used.

As one of the protagonists of this play and the one who gives his name to it, "Karagöz" as a character, is a man of the people; he enshrines in the hearts of the Turkish Cypriots. Karagöz, as the representative of the people's moral understanding and common sense, with his naivety, stupidity, cunningness, comebacks, rudeness, indiscretion, sincerity and much more, reflects the Turkish Cypriot people. The fact that Karagöz has diffused into Turkish Cypriot literature and media from past to present is proof of the extent in which he is adopted among Turkish Cypriots.

A poem, published anonymously in the 33rd issue of the *Seyf* (Sword) newspaper dating October 20, 1912, is remarkable in this sense. This heroic poem, written about the Balkan War of 1912 (Balkan War I), addresses the Turkish Cypriot people through the mouth of Karagöz and aims to mobilise the national and sentimental feelings of the people. In this poem called *Karagöz Ne Diyor?* (What is Karagöz Saying?), Karagöz's unifying and integrative influence on society as a folk hero is used to call upon the material and moral support of the Turkish Cypriot community of her homeland, which – despite the British Colonial Administration – still considered themselves as a part of the Ottoman Empire in those years:

Karagöz Ne Diyor? (What is Karagöz Saying?)

Ey çocuklar gün bugündür, gayrı handân olmalı (Oh children, today is the day, let's laugh and rejoice)/ *Toplanup bir noktada serhatde mihmân olmalı* (Let's gather at some point and be a guest to the borders of the homeland – Keep guard at the border for the defence of the homeland)/ *Ben bile takdım silâhı arkama bir pîr iken* (As an old man even I gird on my gun – Even I'm going to fight to defend my homeland)/ *Gençsiniz, hîç durmayın, düşman perîşân olmalı* (You are young, do not stop, make the enemy miserable)/ *Bak, asıl annen vatandır, el uzandıkça ona* (Look, your real mother is the motherland, as the enemy's hand reaches out to her - as the enemy invades your motherland)/ *Her kılın bir süngü, her uzvun da kalkan olmalı* (Every strand of hair a bayonet, every organ must be a shield-you must protect it with all your strength)/ *Annene kasd eyleyen, herhangi bir mel'ûn ise* (Destroy the cursed enemy who intends to invade your motherland)/ *Mülkünü mahv etmeli, bünyâdı vîrân olmalı!* (Destroy their country, demolish their houses!)/ *Kahramânlar! Azm edin, etrâfımız düşman dolu!* (Heroes! Try to overcome obstacles, defeat your enemies, for you are surrounded by them!)/ *Kahramânca toplanın! Âlem de hayrân olmalı!* (Your heroic gathering – the gathering for homeland defence – will be admired by the whole world!)/ *Kahramânlar! Kahramânlık istiyor annen bugün* (Heroes! your motherland is awaiting your heroic moves)/ *Annenin her emrine mutlak şitâbân olmalı!* (Run to defend your homeland, your mother, hurry!)/ *Seyredenler satvet-i şîrânenizden titresin...* (Those who are watching you should tremble from your leaping like a lion…/ *Mutlakâ derler ki; bu... ordu-yu arslan olmalı!* (And, say that they must be our lion army!)/ *Hıfz-ı mülk uğrunda kanın aksa, mahv olsan bile* (Even if your blood is shed to protect our country, even if you are ruined)/ *Döktüğün kanlar sana nâm olmalı, şân olmalı!* (Your blood will be your fame and your glory – be proud of the blood you shed for your country, because that blood will make your name eternal)/ *Tilki feryâdından etmez merd olanlar ihtirâz* (The brave and heroic man is not afraid of the howling of the fox -heroic people are not afraid of the enemy's power)/ *Bir hedef ancak size Sofiye'yle Balkan olmalı!* (Your other target, after saving the homeland, must be Sofia and the Balkans!)/ *Darbe-i mâziyyeyi bîçâre nisyân eylemiş* (Poor and desperate, they have forgotten the past attacks)/ *Kim o hırsız? Gâlibâ Yelkenci Yûnân olmalı!* (Who is this thief? I think it must be the Sailor Greek!)/ *Son sözüm ey cân-fedâlar! Ey mübârek cebheler!* (O holy faces, O those who gave their lives for the homeland, my last word to you!/ *Kutlu Balkan süngünüz altında al kan olmalı!* (Ensanguine your auspicious bayonet -to get back the Balkans)! (*Kıbrıs* 14 July 2014: 37).

If we take a look at today's Turkish Cypriot press, it doesn't go unnoticed that columnists often use the *Karagöz* motif:

(...) Yüzüne bakıp, yüksek sesle ne dedim, bilir misiniz? Söyleyim: 'İrsen Küçük, hem kendini, hem de taşıdığı soyadını Karagöz etmez.' (...I looked at his face and do you know what I said out aloud? Let me say this to you: 'İrsen Küçük does not make himself or the surname he carries Karagöz') (*Kıbrıs* 9 August 2014: 7).

Karagözlük Tümen Tümen!!! (Karagözlük – ridiculousness – is Pile upon Pile!!!)

(...) Acı ama gerçek... Burası KKTC... Burada siyasi erki elinde tutanlar sayesinde Karagözlük tümen tümen... (...Sad but true... This is the TRNC... Thanks to those who hold the political power here, Karagözlük is pile upon pile...) (*Kıbrıs* 31 August 2014: 7).

(...) Aile büyükleri, 'çocukların Karagözü olduk' diyor ama çok azı, 'Karagöz' olmaktan kurtulmak için adım atabiliyor (...Family elders say that 'We have become the Karagöz (clown) of the children' but few can take steps to avoid being 'Karagöz') (*Kıbrıs* 6 September 2014: 6).

(...) Ayıbın en büyüğünü kendi yapacak ama onun ayıbına tavır koymak ayıp sayılacak. Böyle Karagözlük olmaz! (...He will commit the biggest of shames himself, but it will be considered shameful to take a stand against his shame. There can be no bigger Karagözlük!) (*Kıbrıs* 21 September 2014: 7).

Turkish Cypriot cultural sources point out the presence of Karagöz as well. İsmet Konur's book *Kıbrıs Türkleri* (The Turkish Cypriots) (1938) is the first source in Cyprus to mention Karagöz. As a historian, İsmet Konur focuses mainly on the history, culture and folklore of Cyprus in general, however also includes the Turkish Cypriot literature. After giving examples from some epics, laments, folk songs and poems, Konur ends his words with the following: *In order to complete the Cypriot folk literature, it is necessary to indicate that puppetry, Karagöz plays and Public Storytelling are still popular today, and to this we should also add the examples of rhymed folk prose like tales, nursery rhymes, riddles and proverbs which are very popular among the people* (Konur 1938: 89).

Beria Remzi Özoran writes: *Turkish Cypriots are very fond of the modern theatrical works, especially Namık Kemal's plays. However, these modern works have not diminished the Turkish Cypriots' love and interest towards the old Turkish theatre, such as Karagöz, Puppetry and Public Storytelling. On the contrary, the national passion stimulated by the modern literature, has increased the demand for these traditional plays and thus the old and new Turkish culture have clamped together beyond the ages* (Özoran 1971: 163–164).

Columnist, critic and cultural history researcher Ahmet Tolgay states that Karagöz has been in high demand among the Turkish Cypriots since the years it was brought to Cyprus, that it was a part of the culture of entertainment and continued to exist until the 1950s (Tolgay 2011: 128).

Unfortunately, there is not enough scientific research about the Karagöz plays in Cyprus.[1] The first and most important research on this subject were made by

[1] In recent years, a master thesis on Turkish Cypriot Karagöz plays has been prepared. Even though the study focuses more on 'how Karagöz was performed in Cyprus', the compilation studies in the field yielded a lot of new information and findings from the source persons: İlke Susuzlu, *Kıbrıs Türk Halk Kültüründe Gölge Tiyatrosu Bağlamında İcra ve Seyirci*, Hacettepe University, Social Institute of Sciences, Department of Turkish Language and Literature, unpublished master's thesis, 2013.

Mehmet Ertuğ (b.1939), researcher and performer of the Turkish Cypriot theatrical arts. Ertuğ published two research books on the Karagöz plays in Cyprus; he also has studies that deal with Public Storytelling and other theatrical arts. In addition to these, Ertuğ is the last living *Karagöz master* (hayalî) of the Turkish Cypriots and the author of contemporary Karagöz plays. Ertuğ brought together his contemporary plays and the adaptations of the old ones, in his book titled *Kıbrıs Türk Karagöz Oyunları* (Cyprus Turkish Karagöz Plays) (2010). He has earned a well-deserved place in the history of Turkish Cypriot culture as an artist who brought Karagöz art to present day and introduced it to new generations with the studies he has made.[2]

Mustafa Gökçeoğlu (b.1942) is another researcher who has briefly touched upon the Turkish Cypriot Karagöz Shadow Theatre and compiled pieces from some plays. In one of Gökçeoğlu's books on Turkish Cypriot folklore, *Tezler ve Sözler III* (Theses and Words III), some information about Karagöz is given and examples of compiled texts are presented (Gökçeoğlu 1994: 54–104). However, these studies of researchers can only go back to the beginning of the last century. Considering the half-century period from the beginning of the 1900s when Karagöz existed very vigorously, until the 1950s when it started to slowly fade away, the characteristics of the Turkish Cypriot Karagöz can be listed as follows:

a) *Fasıl* is the name given to the main chapter in Karagöz plays. A Karagöz play takes its name according to the subject covered in this chapter (fasıl). It is possible to divide the chapters into two as "Classical" and "Modern". The classical chapters are called *Kar-ı Kadim* (belonging to old times) and the new chapters are called *Nev-İcâd* (new invention). The number of classical chapters or plays in Turkish Karagöz is 28. Nev-İcâd plays emerged with the influence of the *tûluat* (improvisational) theatre after the II. Constitutional Monarchy (1908) and imitated the structure of classical chapters.

According to the sources, the classical plays of the Turkish Karagöz like *Ağalık* (Squirarchy), *Aptal Bekçi* (The Foolish Guard), *Bahçe* (The Garden), *Bakkallık* (The Grocery), *Bursalı Leyla* (Leyla from Bursa), *Büyük Evlenme* (The Great Marriage), *Cambazlar* (The Tightrope walkers), *Cazular* (The Morose), *Çeşme* (The Fountain), *Ferhat ile Şirin* (Ferhat and Shirin), *Hamam* (The Turkish Bath), *Kanlı Kavak* (The Bloody Poplar), *Kanlı Nigâr* (Bloody Nigâr), *Kayık* (The Caique), *Kırgınlar* (The Offended), *Mal Çıkarma* (Goods Extraction), *Mandıra* (The Dairy Farm), *Meyhane* (The Tavern), *Orman* (The Forest), *Salıncak* (The Swing), *Sünnet* (The Circumcision), *Şairlik* (Poetry), *Tahir ile Zühre* (Tahir and Zuhre), *Tahmis* (The Coffee Roasting), *Ters Evlenme* (The Reverse Marriage), *Tımarhane* (The Madhouse), *Yalova Safası* (The Yalova Delight) *and Yazıcı* (The Scribe) were also staged in Cyprus. These plays reached the 1950s due to the

[2] For a review on Mehmet Ertuğ, see. Oğuz Karakartal, Kıbrıs Türk Seyirlik Oyunlarının Tek Kişilik Ordusu: Mehmet Ertuğ, *Güneş Newspaper*, Culture and Literature Corner, 23 February 2009, pp. 16.

simplification of their language and insertion of local jokes (Ertuğ 1993: 7; Ertuğ 2007: 54).

In addition to classical plays, plays specific to Cyprus emerged both with their content and subjects, as well as with their humour and rhetorical features. Although there is no written documentation at hand, Mehmet Ertuğ states that he learned about these plays from the elderly who he described as "Karagöz devotees":

One of these plays is the 'Karagöz'ün Babalığı' (Karagöz and his Pops). *In this play, Karagöz appears as a stereotype who does not listen to anybody, he kidnaps a woman and even opposes the security forces of the state; finally, he comes to reason after listening to his stepfather (pops). The accents and jokes in this play almost entirely come from local features* (Ertuğ 1993: 7).

Among the Turkish Cypriot Karagöz plays; plays that have the subject of folk culture are noteworthy. Popular folk heroes like Ferhat and Shirin, Tahir and Zuhre, Köroğlu and Bekri Mustafa are included in the Karagöz to enrich its subjects (Gökçeoğlu 1994: 59).

According to the findings of Mehmet Ertuğ, the most popular and most frequently performed Karagöz plays in Cyprus are: *Kanlı Kavak* (The Bloody Poplar), *Ferhat and Shirin*, *Tahir and Zuhre*, *Köroğlu*, *Dört Bekriler* (The Four Drunkards), *Yaldız Küpü* (The Gilding Cube), *Karagöz'ün Babalığı* (Karagöz and his Pops) (Ertuğ 1993: 7, Ertuğ 2007: 54).

Today, we have Karagöz plays written in modern style by Mehmet Ertuğ. These plays take their subjects from daily events, as well as political and social life. Some of these are satirical-ridicules. There are also adaptations of old plays. These modern plays have been carried to the screen by Mehmet Ertuğ and also published as a book.

b) Turkish Cypriot Karagöz, in all respects, is a branch, a variation of the Turkish Karagöz. However, these plays which were brought to the island of Cyprus and reached the present day, localized and enriched with some new additions in time. The most important of these additions were the new characters that joined the character cast of the Turkish Cypriot Karagöz. In Mehmet Ertuğ's works we can find information, depictions and illustrations (large-sized figures) about these characters which did not exist in the classical Karagöz plays. Ertuğ stated that Lefkeli Mehmet Salih Efendi (1922–1967), one of the last Karagöz masters of the Turkish Cypriots, made large-sized figures -their size changing between 39.5cm to 48 cm- in the 1950s in order to compete with cinema and that he staged new plays in theatres using these figures. However, Ertuğ does not give enough information about the content and characters of these plays (Ertuğ 2007: 101–121).

When Mehmet Salih Efendi's depictions (figures/drawings) and illustrations are examined, it is seen that most of them are soldiers dressed in uniforms and boots, with hats and caps on their heads, swords hanging from their waists and rifles on their shoulders. Among the large-sized figures (illustrations), there are cannons, planes and various weapons. Given the fact that Mehmet Salih Efendi was

a soldier in the British forces during World War II, the content of these plays can be said to be related to military and war.

We know that Mehmet Salih Efendi, besides these military plays and soldier characters, also staged classical plays and added new characters to these plays, which were authentic to Cyprus and hense enriched the Karagöz family. When the depictions/illustrations found in his play chest were examined[3], localised and new Karagöz characters like *Lollo* (The Idiot, Mute), *Şaşambellâ* (The Bewildered), *Hanım Kız/Sümbül Hanım* (The Young Girl)[4], *Pisbıyık* (The Scraggly Mustache), *Dönme* (The Transsexual), *Çarpılmış* (The Crooked), *Bodur* (The Shorty), *Savaşçı* (The Warrior), *Perde Çavuşu* (The Curtain Sergeant) were encountered which did not exist in classical plays. For example, the *Beberuhi* character in the Turkish Karagöz, also known as *Altı Kulaç* (Six Strokes) or *Pişbop* (Pishbop) because of shortness of his height, has been localised and turned into *Parapapa*. Likewise, *Bekri Mustafa* is called *Pekri*.

Another Karagöz master who added new characters to the Turkish Cypriot Karagöz plays is Mehmet Ertuğ (b.1939). Ertuğ added the immortal characters of Turkish folk culture and humour, *Nasreddin Hoca* (Nasreddin Hodja) and *Keloğlan* (The Bald Boy) to his contemporary Karagöz plays. Thus, *Nasreddin Hoca* and *Keloğlan*, who meet Karagöz and Hacivat on the same screen, have added colour and richness to contemporary Turkish Cypriot Karagöz plays. Ertuğ says the following:

Bringing together the three most important bastions of Turkish humour on the screen in the Tunnel of Time: Keloğlan, the famous comic hero of our tales, especially a favourite among our children... Nasreddin Hodja, our world-renowned master whose jokes are always in the language of our people... And our Karagöz and Hacivat, loved by people from all ages! Eliminating the concept of time between the three, bringing them together on the same screen as if they lived at the same time (in the time tunnel): I don't know if I did well; I leave it to your appreciation! (Ertuğ 2010: 8).

c) Some of the Turkish Cypriot Karagöz plays, as in the Turkish Karagöz, are examples of obscene plays, namely *Zekerli Karagöz* (Karagöz with a Cock)[5] or *Toramanlı Karagöz* (Karagöz with a Huge Cock). Sexuality and "phallus" were widely used in such plays as well as profanity and vulgar jokes. In fact, the phallus is regarded as an integral element of Karagöz. The play *Zekerli Karagöz* (Karagöz

[3] After the death of Mehmet Salih Efendi, these depictions and figures were handed onto Mehmet Ertuğ by his wife. These figures, which constitute an important source of information about the Turkish Cypriot Karagöz Shadow play, are on display in Mehmet Ertuğ's Karagöz house in the historical Büyük Han (The Great Inn) in Nicosia.

[4] For a review of the Sümbül Hanım character, see. Oğuz Karakartal, Kıbrıs Türk Halk Tiyatrosu'na Özgü Bir Tip: Sünbül Hanım, *Kıbrıs Newspaper*, Culture and Art, 27 March 2017, pp. 30.

[5] These were types of Karagöz plays, which had obscene and impudent subjects. They were generally demanded in the old times. They are also known as 'Toramanlı Karagöz'.

with a Cock) was performed only for men in coffeehouses. When evaluating this feature of the Turkish Cypriot Karagöz plays, Mustafa Gökçeoğlu writes:

Some of the Karagöz plays staged on our island were Toramanlı Karagöz (Zekerli Karagöz) plays. As it is written in the dictionaries of theatre and the performing arts, Toramanlı Karagöz was performed during the Tulip Era in the mansions and palaces of the Ottoman Pashas. It is also known that such Karagöz plays were decorated with sexual patterns. The plays performed in the village coffeehouses on our island were generally of this kind. This feature managed to attract people of a certain age group to the play and create an influence on them (Gökçeoğlu 1994: 59–60).

During the plays which entered this category, the Karagöz masters (*hayalîler*), would take into consideration the age and education level of their audience, pushing the boundaries of decency by including sexuality and the phallus; so it was unthinkable that children and women would be among the audience of such plays. Mehmet Ertuğ says, *Karagöz plays was performed for men in general. Most of the time, little children were not allowed to watch so that their manners would not be effected.* And he continues to explain: *Indeed, there were plenty of profanity and vulgar jokes in the Karagöz plays. This usually depended on the Karagöz master. Sometimes it became a necessity, especially in front of audiences which liked to hear swearing* (Ertuğ 1993: 8).

The three Karagöz plays -variations of each other- compiled by Mustafa Gökçeoğlu and published in his book *Tezler ve Sözler III* (Theses and Words III), are examples of *Toramanlı Karagöz* (Gökçeoğlu 1994: 63–94). Sexuality, abusive words and profanity are used abundantly in these texts. In addition, it can also be seen that some of the depictions published in Mehmet Ertuğ's *Anılar ve Alıntılarla Geleneksel Kıbrıs Türk Seyirlik Oyunları* (Traditional Turkish Cypriot Theatrical Plays with Memories and Quotes) book are naked. Among these depictions-figures, *Karagöz Güreşçi/ Çıplak Karagöz* (Karagöz, the Wrestler/ Naked Karagöz), *Hacivat Güreşçi/ Çıplak Hacivat* (Hacivat, the Wrestler/ Naked Hacivat) and *Üstsüz Zenne* (Topless Zenne), which came out of the chest of Karagöz master Lefkeli Mehmet Salih Efendi are remarkable and said to have remained from Karagöz masters at least two or three generations ago (Ertuğ 2007: 114, 117). Especially the Topless Zenne's explicit upright breasts suggest that this figure was used in plays containing sexuality. However, there are no Karagöz depictions which had a phallus were among the Karagöz figures published by Ertuğ. As it is known, in the Turkish Karagöz plays, especially in *Kanlı Nigâr* (Bloody Nigâr) and *Tımarhane* (Madhouse), the phallus of the "nudes" and "insane", were sometimes shown as erect, sometimes attached to their necks and exaggerated (And 1969: 139). Besides, it is understood that the Karagöz master Lefkeli Mehmet Salih Efendi did not prefer the Toramanlı Karagöz. According to sources, Mehmet Salih Efendi, who was known to use an extrememly decent language, performed only for women or for both men and women together (Ertuğ 1993: 8).

d) The Turkish Cypriot Karagöz plays have attracted audiences not only in cities and towns such as Nicosia, Famagusta, Limassol and Lefka, but also in almost every corner of Cyprus. According to İlke Susuzlu, the entertainment aspect of the Karagöz tradition prevailed in Cyprus; people showed great demand for these plays in order to find outlets to emotionalise, laugh and revive their lives (Susuzlu 2013: 12). Classical plays were generally preferred in cities, and *Toramanlı Karagöz* (Karagöz with Huge Cock) was mostly preferred in villages. In the past, every shadow play master used to have their own territory and in big cities such as Nicosia and Limassol, every master would perform his art in a specific coffeehouse (Gökçeoğlu 1994: 60). In other words, the old Turkish Cypriot coffeehouses were a kind of social activity centres where Karagöz plays were exhibited. With the arrival of Karagöz masters, coffeehouses, frequented only by men during the normal times, opened their doors to women and children as well, and earning a sense of mutual/common space (Susuzlu 2013: 66). There were many coffeehouses in Old Nicosia and Limassol, which were known as Karagöz coffeehouses or by the names of the Karagöz masters who performed there (Cahit 2011; İslâmoğlu 1994: 128 – 129). The most important of these Karagöz coffeehouses were:

In Nicosia:

1) Mulla Hasan's Coffeehouse: This coffeehouse was located in Sarayönü and was the most important Karagöz coffeehouse. Since it was opposite to the Nicosia Police Station, its customers were mostly policemen.

2) Shenlikli's Coffeehouse: This coffeehouse was also called "Meyhaneci Hasan's Coffeehouse". It was located in the back street of the General Directorate of Police, opposite to the tomb of "Mahmut Pasha". In this coffeehouse, the Karagöz master Kâni Dayı (Efendi) from Limassol performed the profession.

3) Ramadan's Coffeehouse: Karagöz was staged once a week on Friday nights in this coffeehouse, located on Fellahlar Street. The Karagöz master of this coffeehouse was Kavanoz Hasan Dayı.

4) Sögüd's Ahmet's Coffeehouse: It was located at the Kyrenia Gate where the Ziraat Bank is today. This coffeehouse was first run by a man called Hasırcı Fellah and Karagöz plays were performed there. The Karagöz master of this coffeehouse was Mehmet Kafa.

5) Hashim Agha's Coffeehouse: It was located under the National Unity Party building in Sarayönü. The owner of the coffeehouse was Hakim Fuat Bey and the keeper was Hashim Agha.

6) The Karagöz Masters Coffeehouse: It was located next to the Captain Pharmacy.

In Limassol:

1) Kırmızı's Coffeehouse or The Karagöz Masters Coffeehouse: It was the most famous Karagöz place in Limassol. It was located at the crossroads of a busy spot in the Albanian Neighbourhood where the Turks lived. Here, the Karagöz master Kâni Dayı used to perform the profession.

2) Hadji Yahya's Coffeehouse: This was another Karagöz Coffeehouse belonging to the Limassol Turks. It was located next to the "Four Lanterns Bridge" which separated the Turkish and Greek neighbourhoods. Here, both Polemityalı (Binatlı) Ali Hoca and Mehmet Kafa from Nicosia performed the plays.

In Lefke, the main coffeehouses that Karagöz plays were performed were the *Ağaçlı Kahve*, which was located in the middle of the bazaar and was famous for the giant eucalyptus tree in front of it, as well as Zeki Efendi's Coffeehouse.

In addition to the Karagöz coffeehouses, Karagöz plays were performed in winter and summer (open air) cinemas, sports clubs, village squares, fairgrounds, gardens of houses, develik (rooms with high ceilings) and shops like the barber or shoemaker (Susuzlu 2013: 61).

As it is understood, as a popular form of entertainment in the towns and cities of Cyprus, the shadow theatre has created its own spaces (coffeehouses etc.) and with this feature it has also exhibited a similarity with the Karagöz-coffeehouse connection in Turkey (Susuzlu 2013: 66). Sources mention that Karagöz has embellished the social life of the villages in particular. In some Mesaoria villages such as "Yiğitler (Arçoz)" and "Serdarlı (Çatoz)", these plays were said to be extremely popular. Mehmet Ertuğ gives the following information:

The arrival of the Karagöz master in the villages brought vitality to the monotonous life and had an impact on everyone from all ages. The Karagöz masters reflected onto the screen the problems and the crookedness they saw in the villages with fine humour, and such jokes were enjoyed by the villagers tremendiously. The best jokes made by shadow play masters were not forgotten for years and were used by the villagers when it was appropriate. Some rude jokes, however, were not said openly; instead implied, using the phrase "As Mulla Hasan said!" The magical world of the Karagöz plays would have such an impact on the people of the village that some of them, based on the similarities of their behaviours or appearances, were called by the names of the characters in the Karagöz plays or the character's name was given to them as nicknames. Here I would like to give a few examples from the village of Yiğitler (Arçoz), one of the villages where the Karagöz play was most popular: Ayvaz Ahmet, Arnavut Mustafa, Pekri (Bekri) Ali... The Karagöz plays were so popular among the Yigitler people that when Mulla Hasan died they went to his wife Hasane Hanım and told her that they wanted to buy the figures/depictions and continue this tradition. Hasane Hanım said that, upon her husband's will, she buried them (Ertuğ 1993: 10).

Another point that needs to be emphasized here is that the shadow play brought to Cyprus by the Ottomans was gradually adopted by the Greek Cypriots as well. Undoubtedly, the teaching this art form to the Greek apprentices by the Turkish Cypriot Karagöz masters had a role in this cultural exchange. For example, we know that the Master Kani Dayı from Limassol had a Greek apprentice to whom he taught all of his plays. It is also mentioned that some of the Turkish Cypriot Karagöz masters who could speak Greek, made the Greek Cypriot Karagöz

characters speak in their own language, and that there were Greek Cypriots among their audience. For example, the Karagöz master Mehmet Salih Efendi from Lefka was an artist who knew Greek and among his audience there were Greek Cypriots as well (Ertuğ 1993: 17). This traditional Turkish art, which was in time also adopted by the Greek Cypriots, underwent some changes in their hands. The Greek Cypriot community tried to nationalize Karagöz by adding the values of its own nation (Ertuğ 1993: 19; Susuzlu 2013: 19–20).

e) Invaluable shadow play artists emerged from the Turkish Cypriots. Mehmet Ertuğ, in his research on shadow theatre, identifies the presence of many artists performing Karagöz as an art form in Cyprus. The last Karagöz masters identified by Mehmet Ertuğ are: Polemityalı Ali Hodja (Poet Ali Hodja), Polili Hasan Hodja (Retired Teacher), Mağusalı Mulla Hüseyin, Mağusalı Mehmet Efendi, Kuklalı Karagözcü Sadık, Karagözcü Kanî Dayı (Limasollu Kâni Efendi), Koca İbrahim, Çatozlu Zihni Usta (Blacksmith Zihni), Mulla Hasan, Karagözcü Mehmet Efendi (Lefkeli Mehmet Salih Efendi) (Ertuğ 1993: 11–17).

İlke Susuzlu, in his dissertation on the Turkish Cypriot Karagöz Shadow Play, mentions some other Karagöz masters who are not mentioned by Mehmet Ertuğ. The Karagöz masters that Susuzlu compiled from his sources are as follows:

1) The Karagöz masters Ali and Oğuz: who performed Karagöz in the village of Çınarlı (Bladan) in the 1940s-50s were brothers.

2) Kemal Barut and Mehmet Veli: Kemal Barut and Mehmet Veli, who performed Karagöz together in the Albanian Quarter of Limassol in the 1950s, learned this art from the great master of the previous generation, Limasollu Kâni Dayı (from Limassol).

3) Kunduracı (Shoemaker) Cemal Usta: Kunduracı Cemal Usta, who lived between 1900 and 1967, was one of the amateur Karagöz masters, whose main profession was shoemaking but because of his love for Karagöz he used to perform it as a hobby.

4) Yılancı (Snake Charmer) or Garagöz Mehmet: During the first half of the 1960s, he performed with snakes and performed Karagöz.

5) Görneçli Emine Hanım's husband: He performed Karagöz in Görneç village during the end of 1950s (Susuzlu 2013: 17–18).

Apart from these, other Karagöz masters' names, such as Kavanoz Hasan Dayı, Mehmet Kafa and Kıbrıslı Agâh, are mentioned in other sources. These Karagöz masters, who continued their profession until the 1950s and early 60s, made most of their figures and depictions themselves and visited almost every village to perform their plays. Of course, as an artist living today and practicing until recently, Mehmet Ertuğ should be added to this list. In addition to Mehmet Ertuğ in recent years, it is seen that some names emerging from the younger generation have also been attracted to the Karagöz shadow play and struggled so that this deep-rooted tradition is not forgotten. One of them is Ahmet Özçaylı (b.1969) who is an elementary school teacher and a professional shadow play master. Using Karagöz plays with more

didactic content, performing them especially to primary school students in the Kyrenia region, Özçaylı aims to teach while entertaining. Another name is İzel Seylani (b.1990), who is working in Turkish Cypriot theatre as an actor, director and writer. Seylani brings to the screen both the Karagöz plays that he has written -*Bir Bandabuliya Meselesi: Karagöz ve Sihirli Sebzeler* (A Bandabuliya Affair: Karagöz and the Magical Vegetables), *Karagöz Paragöz* (Stingy Karagöz) – and Mehmet Ertuğ's plays – *Karagöz'ün Akıl Satması* (Karagöz Gives Useless Advice), *Karagöz'ün İsim Değiştirmesi* (Karagöz Changes His Name), attracting attention as the youngest artist performing this tradition.[6] It can be easily said that Seylani took over the flag, as a Karagöz Master, from Mehmet Ertuğ.

With the awareness that this heritage and tradition needs to be preserved, İzel Seylani is making a bid, both in the Southern Mesarya Public Theatre and in the Bandabuliya Stage in Nicosia, by carrying the Turkish Cypriot Theatre tradition to younger generations. It should be mentioned that following its Cyprus tour, the play *Karagöz Paragöz* (Stingy Karagöz), written and performed by Seylani, was also represented at the "International Bursa Karagöz and Shadow Theatre Festival" in Turkey. İzel Seylani's other Karagöz play *Bir Bandabuliya Meselesi: Karagöz ve Sihirli Sebzeler* (A Bandabuliya Affair: Karagöz and the Magical Vegetables) is a play that attracts both children over the age of five and adults, and emphasizes two basic values. The first of these values is the importance of "healthy nutrition" and the other is "the introduction of the historical-cultural heritage of our country, especially Nicosia". For this purpose, symbolic landmarks specific to Nicosia, such as "Kyrenia Gate", "The Great Inn", "Dikilitaş/Venetian Column", "Samanbahçe District" and "Birds/Pigeons of Sarayönü Square" have been preferred. In addition, Karagöz's donkey "Karaçoççço" stands out as a new character not included in the classical plays and added to the *Karagöz* family by İzel Seylani.

2. MEHMET ERTUĞ AND THE ANALYSIS OF THE TURKISH CYPRIOT KARAGÖZ PLAYS[7]

Today, Ertuğ is considered as the most important artist who keeps the traditional Cyprus Turkish theatre alive.[8] Oğuz Karakartal considers him as the

[6] In addition to Karagöz plays, İzel Seylani also has modern plays. However, although they have been staged, they have not been published: *Mesarya Üçlemesi (Nor ve Betmez, Şaman, Papaz Nikâhı)* and *Ejderha Tepesi*.

[7] For an article on this topic see Hüseyin Ezilmez, Geleneksel Kıbrıs Türk Tiyatrosu (Traditional Turkish Cypriot Theatre), *Motif Akademi, Halkbilimi Journal*, Cyprus Special Issue I, June 2013, pp. 79–103.

[8] His published works include: *Geleneksel Kıbrıs Türk Tiyatrosu* (Traditional Turkish Cypriot Theatre), Publication of the TRNC Ministry of Education and Culture, 1993; *Anılar ve Alıntılarla Geleneksel Kıbrıs Türk Seyirlik Oyunları* (Traditional Turkish Cypriot Plays with Memories and Anecdotes), Ertuğ Yayınları, Nicosia 2007; *Kıbrıs Türk Karagöz Oyunları* (Turkish Cypriot Karagöz Plays), Publication of the Cyprus Turkish Writers Union, Nicosia, April 2010; *Meddah Aynalı* (Aynali, the Storyteller), Publication of Deniz Plaza, Nicosia 2011.

one-man army of Turkish Cypriot theatrical plays and likens him to *the locomotive that solely drives the art of Karagöz* (Karakartal 2009: 16).

Mehmet Ertuğ published the Karagöz plays which he wrote and adapted under the name of *Cyprus Turkish Karagöz Plays*. In this work, Ertuğ classifies the Turkish Cypriot Karagöz plays into six different groups:

1. Full length authentic (Cypriot-specific) plays,
2. Full length adaptation (Cypriot versions of classical plays),
3. Orginal short plays,
4. Original adaptations,
5. A new practice: Turkish humour in the time tunnel,
6. Spontaneous, on-the-spot plays based on current issues (sketches).

The number of original and adaptation plays published in this work is 45. The names and dates of these plays are as follows: *Karagöz'ün Akıl Satması* (Karagöz Gives Useless Advice) (1970s), *Karagöz Kıbrıs Sorununu Çözüyor* (Karagöz Solves the Cyprus Problem) (2002), *Karagöz İnternet'te* (Karagöz on the Internet) (2000), *Karagöz'ün Şarkıcılığı* (Karagöz Tries His Luck at Singing) (2005), *Karagöz'ün Hastalanması* (Karagöz Falls Ill) (1990), *Karagöz Barışçı* (Karagöz The Peacemaker) (2004), *Karagöz "TEK"e Karşı* (Karagöz Against "TEK") (2008), *Karagöz Uluslararası Şöhret* (Karagöz Aquires International Fame) (2006), *Karagöz Avrupa Birliği'nde* (Karagöz enters the European Union) (2004), *Karagöz "Light" Erkek* (Karagöz the "Light" Male) (2004), *Karagöz Ananistan'da* (Karagöz in Motherland) (2004), *Karagöz'ün Temizliği* (Karagöz's Cleanliness) (1991), *Karagöz'ün Çevre Koruyuculuğu* (Karagöz the Environmentalist) (1991), *Karagöz'ün Vasiyeti* (Karagöz's Last Will) (1991), *Karagöz'ün Babalığı* (Karagöz and his Pops) (1983), *Karagöz'ün İsim Değişmesi* (Karagöz Changes His Name) (2004), *Karagöz'ün Öğütleri* (Karagöz's Advice) (1985), *Karagöz'ün Yaşı* (Karagöz's Age) (2000), *Karagöz'ün Buluşu* (Karagöz's Discovery) (2003), *Karagöz'ün Yeni Mesleği* (Karagöz's New Profession) (1995), *Karagöz'ün Politikacılığı* (Karagöz Enters Politics) (2006), *Karagöz ve Hacivat Niçin Öldürülmedi?* (Why Wasn't Karagöz and Hacivat Killed?) (2006), *Karagöz "Tumarhanacı"* (Karagöz From the Madhouse) (1960s), *Karagöz'ün Dakikliği* (Karagöz's Punctuality) (2005), *Karagöz Milenyum'da* (Karagöz in the Millenium) (2000), *Karagöz'ün Aptallığı* (Karagöz's Stupidity) (2004), *Karagöz'ün Kahveciliği* (Karagöz's Coffeehouse) (1989), *Karagöz Trafikte* (Karagöz in Traffic) (2000), *Karagöz Ozmosis'e Karşı* (Karagöz Against Osmosis) (2005), *Karagöz Çağdaş Baba* (Karagöz the Contemporary Father) (2004), *Karagöz Boş Gezenin Kalfası* (Karagöz the Dawdler) (2000), *Karagöz'ün Rum Sevgisi* (Karagöz's Love For Greek Cypriots) (2006), *Karagöz'ün Mudiliği* (Karagöz the Bailor) (2000), *Karagöz'ün Verimliliği* (Karagöz's Productivity) (2001), *Karagöz'ün İşe Girmesi* (Karagöz's Employment) (2001), *Karagöz'ün Adamlığı* (Karagöz's Humanity) (2000), *Karagöz'ün İyiliği* (Karagöz's Kindness) (2001),

Karagöz'ün Çok Yönlülüğü (Karagöz's Versatility) (1998), *Karagöz Dünyayla Aynı Dili Konuşuyor* (Karagöz Speaks the Same Language as the World) (2005), *Karagöz'e Bayram Ziyareti* (A Bairam Visit to Karagöz) (2004), *Karagöz Ekonomik Krizde* (Karagöz in the Economic Crisis) (2001), *Karagöz'ün Saygınlığı* (Karagöz's Reputation) (2000), *Karagöz Karagözcüye Karşı* (Karagöz Against the Karagöz Maker) (2005), *Karagöz Penguenler Arasında* (Karagöz Among Penguins) (2005) and *Karagöz Avrupalı* (Karagöz the European) (2008).

In the section titled "Turkish Humour in the Time Tunnel", Mehmet Ertuğ brings the three greatest names of Turkish humour, Keloğlan, Nasreddin Hoca, Karagöz and Hacivat together on the same screen. The number of plays he published under this title is 4 and their names are: *Nasreddin Hoca'nın Saygısı* (Nasreddin Hodja's Respect) (2000), *Uygunsuz Soruya Usturuplu Cevap* (A Clever Answer to an Improper Question) (first print 2000, reprint 2005), *Herkes Haklı veya Hoca'nın Kadılığı* (Everyone is Right or Hodja the Qadi) (2005) and *Hoca Kıbrıs Sorununu Çözüyor* (Hodja Solves the Cyprus Problem) (2006).

The number of original on-the-spot sketches in the book is 7. These are called: *Referandum Öncesi* (Before the Referandum) (2005), *Karagöz Fin Hamamında* (Karagöz in the Finnish Baths) (2006), *Yorgo ile Söyleşi* (Interview with George) (2004), *Papa'nın Ziyareti* (The Pope's Visit) (2006), *Referandum: NTV için* (The Referandum: for NTV) (2004), *Falcı* (The Fortune Teller) (2006) and *Bay Moon Kıbrıs'ta* (Mr Moon in Cyprus) (2010).

2.1. **Subjects:** The Karagöz plays published by Mehmet Ertuğ in his book *Cyprus Turkish Karagöz Plays* can be grouped based on their themes as follows:

2.1.1. **Plays with a Social Message:**

a) Plays that give a lesson about wrong behaviour: *Karagöz'ün Hastalanması* (Karagöz Falls Ill), *Karagöz'ün Temizliği* (Karagöz's Cleanliness), *Karagöz'ün Çevre Koruyuculuğu* (Karagöz the Environmentalist), *Karagöz'ün Dakikliği* (Karagöz's Punctuality), *Karagöz Trafikte* (Karagöz in Traffic), *Karagöz'ün Verimliliği* (Karagöz's Productivity), *Karagöz'ün Adamlığı* (Karagöz's Humanity), *Karagöz'e Bayram Ziyareti* (A Bairam Visit to Karagöz), *Karagöz'ün Saygınlığı* (Karagöz's Reputation).

b) Plays that criticise the individual and society: *Karagöz Uluslararası Şöhret (Meşhûr Adam)* (Karagöz Aquires International Fame, The Celebrity), *Karagöz'ün Vasiyeti* (Karagöz's Last Will), *Karagöz'ün Babalığı* (Karagöz and his Pops), *Karagöz'ün Öğütleri* (Karagöz's Advices), *Karagöz'ün Politikacılığı* (Karagöz Enters Politics), *Karagöz'ün Aptallığı* (Karagöz's Stupidity), *Karagöz Çağdaş Baba* (Karagöz the Contemporary Father), *Karagöz Boş Gezenin Kalfası* (Karagöz the Dawdler), *Karagöz'ün Mudiliği* (Karagöz the Bailor), *Karagöz'ün İşe Girmesi* (Karagöz's Employment), *Karagöz'ün İyiliği* (Karagöz's Kindness), *Karagöz'ün Çok Yönlülüğü* (Karagöz's Versatility), *Karagöz Dünyayla Aynı Dili Konuşuyor*

(Karagöz Speaks the Same Language as the World), *Karagöz Ekonomik Krizde* (Karagöz in the Economic Crisis), *Karagöz Avrupalı* (Karagöz the European), *Papa'nın Ziyareti* (The Pope's Visit).

2.1.2. **Plays on Issues Related to Cyprus (Turkish Cypriot-Greek Cypriot and the European Union):** *Karagöz Kıbrıs Sorununu Çözüyor* (Karagöz Solves the Cyprus Problem), *Karagöz Barışçı* (Karagöz the Peacemaker), *Karagöz Tek'e Karşı* (Karagöz Against 'TEK'), *Karagöz Avrupa Birliği'nde* (Karagöz Enters the European Union), *Karagöz Ananistan'da* (Karagöz in Motherland), *Karagöz Ozmosis'e Karşı* (Karagöz Against Osmosis), *Karagöz'ün Rum Sevgisi* (Karagöz's Love for Greek Cypriots), *Referandum Öncesi* (Before the Referandum), *Karagöz Fin Hamamında* (Karagöz in the Finnish Baths), *Yorgo ile Söyleşi* (Interview with George), *Referandum: NTV İçin* (The Referandum: for NTV), *Falcı* (The Fortune Teller), *Bay Moon Kıbrıs'ta* (Mr Moon in Cyprus), *Hoca Kıbrıs Sorununu Çözüyor* (Hodja Solves the Cyprus Problem).

2.1.3. **Plays about Karagöz Finding a Job:** *Karagöz'ün Akıl Satması* (Karagöz Gives Useless Advice), *Karagöz'ün Buluşu* (Karagöz's Discovery), *Karagöz'ün Yeni Mesleği* (Karagöz's New Profession), *Karagöz Tumarhanacı* (Karagöz from the Madhouse), *Karagöz'ün Kahveciliği* (Karagöz's Coffeehouse).

2.1.4. **Plays on Current Events and Popular Culture:** *Karagöz İnternet'te* (Karagöz on the Internet), *Karagöz Light Erkek* (Karagöz the "Light" Male), *Karagöz'ün Şarkıcılığı* (Karagöz Tries His Luck at Singing), *Karagöz ve Hacivat Niçin Öldürülmedi?* (Why Wasn't Karagöz and Hacivat Killed?), *Karagöz Milenyum'da* (Karagöz in the Millenium).

2.1.5. **Plays on Miscellaneous topics:** *Karagöz'ün Yaşı* (Karagöz's Age), *Karagöz'ün İsim Değişmesi* (Karagöz Changes His Name), *Karagöz Karagözcü'ye Karşı (Karagöz'ün Karagözcülüğü)* (Karagöz Against the Karagöz Maker or Karagöz the Karagöz Maker), *Karagöz Penguenler Arasında* (Karagöz Among Penguins), *Nasreddin Hoca'nın Saygısı* (Nasreddin Hodja's Respect), *Uygunsuz Soruya Usturuplu Cevap* (A Clever Answer to an Improper Question), *Herkes Haklı (Hoca'nın Kadılığı)* (Everyone is Right or Hodja the Qadi).

It will be beneficial to give a brief summary of some of the 56 plays published by Mehmet Ertuğ in this book in order to understand their contents.

Karagöz'ün Akıl Satması (Karagöz Gives Useless Advice): As always, Karagöz is broke and unable to take alimony to his home. His mentor Hacivat advises him to try his hand at making a living by "giving advice". Karagöz, in his desperation, accepts Hacivat's suggestion, and when he starts selling his advice finds himself in many funny situations. After all, as in other plays too, Karagöz cannot be successful in this business and gets angry with Hacivat, whom he sees responsible for his misfortune, and relieves his anger by beating him.

Karagöz Tumarhanacı (Karagöz from the Madhouse): Çelebi and Hacivat meet. Çelebi leaves the management of the madhouse he is fixing to Hacivat. Hacivat employs Karagöz to the madhouse he is managing as a guard. Hacivat

sends the madmen of the neighbourhood to Karagöz. Karagöz captures these madmen and locks them up in an asylum. The First Madman (*Deli* -Crazy) comes, he talks nonsense, Karagöz beats him, the madman runs away. The Second Madman (*Zırdeli* -Stark Crazy) comes, he is ridiculous, Karagöz beats Zırdeli, Zırdeli escapes. The third Madman (*Zırzırdeli* -Completely Stark Crazy) comes last, he starts to talk tripe, Karagöz is afraid of him because this Madman is larger than the others. Karagöz, out of fear, starts talking nonsense. Hacivat enters, when he sees Karagöz's situation, he calls a Greek Cypriot physician. The Greek Cypriot physician heals Karagöz. Karagöz beats Hacivat, whom he sees responsible for what happened.

Karagöz'ün Babalığı (Karagöz and his Pops): Mr Furtuna's wife meets Karagöz. Karagöz is affected by the beauty of this woman and kidnaps her. Hacivat enters and tells Karagöz about the disappearance of Mr Furtuna's wife; adding that Mr Furtuna is looking for someone who can act as the middleman to find his wife. Karagöz is happy to get both the woman and the money. Karagöz starts working as the town crier. He tells everyone that Mr Furtuna's wife has disappeared and is in his own house. The Albanian Sergeant enters, Karagöz asks him to leave the woman, Karagöz beats the Albanian Sergeant, the Albanian runs away. Then, respectively, Acem, Hımhım, Mukhtar and the Jew enters, Karagöz kidnaps them too. Finally, Karagöz's father Pekri (Bekri) enters. Karagöz is afraid of Pekri and surrenders the woman. Hacivat enters, Karagöz takes out all his anger on him.

Karagöz'ün Kahveciliği (Karagöz's Coffeehouse): Karagöz complains about being unemployed and having no money. Hacivat enters and tells Karagöz that he has found a job for him. Hacivat convinces Karagöz to work as a coffeehouse owner saying he believes this job is perfect for Karagöz and that he will make a lot of money. Karagöz starts the coffee making but cannot make money, instead he even borrows some. This is because the customers don't pay for the coffee they drink. First the Greek Cypriot and the Jew enter, Karagöz cannot take money from them, so he beats the Greek Cypriot and the Jew, then enters Tuzsuz Deli (Crazy) Bekir, he does not pay for the coffee he drinks either, he shouts, makes threats and runs away. Then Hacivat enters and tells Karagöz not to worry, adding that *"debt only encourages us to work harder"*. Karagöz beats Hacivat.

Karagöz Light Erkek (Karagöz the "Light" Male): Hacivat has not been around for a while, Karagöz wonders and goes to Hacivat's house. He asks why he doesn't leave the house. Hacivat tells him that this is the fashion now, to be a Light Male, who helps his wife and does the housework. He advises Karagöz to behave in this way too. Believing that his relationship with his wife will get better, Karagöz takes Hacivat's advice and is very kind to his wife. However, he doesn't get the reaction he expects. Because Karagöz's wife, who is not used to politeness, curses and insults him. Karagöz goes and beats Hacivat.

Uygunsuz Soruya Usturuplu Cevap (A Clever Answer to an Improper Question): Karagöz and Hacivat are discussing whether chewing gum in the toilet

is considered a sin. They cannot solve this problem and start arguing. In the end, they decide to consult the Hodja, whom they believe will have the right answer. Keloğlan is following the discussion of Karagöz and Hacivat, he takes great pleasure in doing so and exacerbates the situation rather than calm it. At the end, the question is asked to Hodja by Hacivat. Hodja's answer to this awkward question is both sarcastic and ironic: "Chewing gum in the toilet is not sinful; however, if anyone sees you, they will think that you're chewing something else!"

Herkes Haklı (Hoca'nın Kadılığı) (Everyone is Right or Hodja the Qadi): Hacivat, who is constantly beaten by Karagöz, goes and complains to Hodja. Hodja listens to both sides and makes his decision by finding both Karagöz and Hacivat right. Because Karagöz has no right to beat Hacivat and Hacivat has no right to humiliate and ridicule Karagöz. Keloğlan rejoices this decision by saying "both the defendant and the plaintiff are right".

Karagöz İnternet'te (Karagöz on the Internet): Hacivat enters and calls Karagöz saying that he wants to see him. Karagöz does not respond to his call and does not show up. However, we hear his voice from inside: "WWW. Karagöz dot empty pot!" Hacivat repeats his call but Karagöz does not emerge. Hacivat is worried; afraid that Karagöz has been possessed, he starts to cry. He begs Karagöz to come downstairs. Upon this, Karagöz comes to the curtain; he insults Hacivat and exclaims that he cannot get rid of him. Hacivat, on the other hand, expresses that he is his friend and tells Karagöz that he misses him; he asks what these strange sounds mean. Karagöz doesn't want to tell him at first: *"Curiosity kills the cat"* he says, *"You've always cracked me up with your priggishness, now it's my turn!"* He then tells him that he has changed and will no longer beat Hacivat; but Hacivat's insistence persists and he is left with no option other than to answer Hacivat's questions in order to escape.

2.2. **Characters of the Turkish Cypriot Karagöz:** The characters in Karagöz plays all have specific features that they are known for and reflect on the screen. In other words, the most prevalent feature of the Karagöz characters is that they are all stereotypes. Stereotype; a character who represents a certain profession, mentality or circle, portraying typical behavior and cliché speeches, which may appear or we may be familiar with in other works. Stereotypes are either completely good or bad, ie one-dimensional. The main characters of the Turkish Cypriot Karagöz are:

2.2.1. **Principal characters:** The main characters of the plays are Karagöz and Hacivat.

Karagöz: Karagöz is one of the two main characters who gives his name to the Karagöz plays. In all plays (56 plays), he has a functional role with Hacivat. He is a complete contrast of the character Hacivat. He represents an uneducated, illiterate man who is a little naive and very occasionally rude. Karagöz corresponds to the *Kavuklu* character found in *Ortaoyunu*. Karagöz does not have a specific job or profession. He tries his hand at a variety of work. However,

because he never has the right job, he suffers from lack of money. He has to work in jobs he doesn't want to for money. For example, in *Karagöz'ün Akıl Satması* (Karagöz Gives Useless Advice) (Ertuğ 2010: 9–16) he sells advice, in the play *Karagöz Tumarhanacı* (Karagöz from the Madhouse) (Ertuğ 2010: 67–70) he works as a guard, in *Karagöz'ün Kahveciliği* (Karagöz's Coffeehouse) (Ertuğ 2010: 78–81) he runs a coffeehouse and in *Karagöz'ün İşe Girmesi* (Karagöz's Employment) (Ertuğ 2010: 94–95) he appears before us as a sivil servant. Besides these, in the play *Karagöz'ün Yeni Mesleği* (Karagöz's New Profession) (Ertuğ 2010: 62) he tells us that he is a blacksmith. He doesn't hide his illiteracy, in the play *Karagöz'ün Kahveciliği* (Karagöz's Coffeehouse) he openly states *İyi amma, benim okumam yazmam yok; bana bir de kâtip lâzım!* (Well I can neither read nor write; I shall also need a scribe!). He usually does not understand the things Hacivat tells him, or he misunderstands them; he is easily agitated and shows his reaction by either beating Hacivat or being rude and saying whatever comes to his tongue. He always taunts the *zimmi* (non-Muslim) characters who speak in broken Turkish with their own linguistic characteristics. He makes out that he doesn't understand the words they say and loads new meanings to them (Ertuğ 2010: 34–35). He is not a businessman like Hacivat; most of the time he comes out of work related situations at a loss. In the play *Karagöz'ün Kahveciliği* (Karagöz's Coffeehouse) he is aggrieved by the Greek Cypriot, Jew and Tuzsuz Deli (Crazy) Bekir when they don't give him what he is owed (Ertuğ 2010: 79). He is always in trouble with his wife, no matter what he does he can't please her, they are in a constant dispute. Karagöz is insulted by his wife in the play *Karagöz Light Erkek* (Karagöz the "Light" Male) (Ertuğ 2010: 34–35). He is naive, he believes easily. He believes everything Hacivat tell him and finds himself in unseen situations. For example, in the play *Karagöz'ün Şarkıcılığı* (Karagöz Tries His Luck at Singing) (Ertuğ 2010: 22–23), although he is not tuneful, he is manipulated by Hacivat to sing. In addition to all of these features, we also see Karagöz carrying out social and political criticism and satire. For example, in *Karagöz Uluslararası Şöhret (Meşhur Adam)* (Karagöz Aquires International Fame, The Celebrity) (Ertuğ, 2010: 30–31), there is a criticism brought to a number of artists who have gained worldwide fame with their writings and actions. Karagöz appears before us as a patriotic and nationalistic character. He does not approve of anything that is contrary to the interests of his country and nation. He is against the EU and the Annan Plan. He does not hide his views on these issues; he puts them forth open heartedly (Ertuğ 2010: 32). He says that he is against a peace agreement that will be made by leaving our lands and making concessions (Ertuğ 2010: 18). He criticizes the supporters of the Annan Plan by saying, *Senin akıl hocaların da herhalde akılları ile midelerinin yerini değiştirmişler... Yani hepsi senin cinsinden!* (Your mentors have probably changed the place of their minds with their stomachs… That is to say they are just like you!) (Ertuğ 2010: 37). The only play in which Karagöz appears as a

negative type is in *Karagöz'ün Babalığı* (Karagöz and his Pops) (Ertuğ 2010: 44–47). Mehmet Ertuğ writes about this play as:

...In this play, Karagöz appears as a stereotype who does not listen to anybody, he kidnaps a woman and even opposes the security forces of the state; finally, he comes to reason after listening to his stepfather (pops)... (Ertuğ 1993: 7).

When Mehmet Ertuğ's Karagöz figurations are examined, it is seen that the red color dominates Karagöz's clothing (Ertuğ 2007: 123; Ertuğ 2010: 139). One of his arms is moveable. He has on his head a cap called *Işkırlak*. A sash is wrapped around his waist. In addition, there is a tobacco pouch hanging from his sash. Underneath he is wearing knee-length pants. His face is pictured round, he has large eyes and a full beard.

Hacivat: He is the other main character in Karagöz plays. He has a functional role in all plays (56 games). He corresponds to the stereotype of *Pişekâr* seen in *Ortaoyunu*. In full length plays, Hacivat enters the screen by reciting a *semai* (a song): *Hanaylar yaptırdım döşetemedim/ Çifte kumruları eş edemedim/ Zalim felek ile baş edemedim/ Konma bülbül konma çeşme taşına/ Bu gençlikte neler geldi başıma* (I built houses I couldn't furnish/ I couldn't match the inseparable doves/ I couldn't cope with the cruelty of destiny/ Don't perch here nightingale don't perch on the stone fountain/ Oh, what has become of me in my youth) (Ertuğ 2010: 9). And follows by calling Karagöz to the screen by saying:

*Of hay Hak! Meşhur kelâmlar:/ Dünyada istersen edesin rahat,/ Kimseye kulak asma, keyfine bak!/ Bir iş bul kendine, düşünme derin,/ Ayağı kapalı dut, kelleyi serin!/ Derler ki:/ Aklın yolu birdir, yoktur başka;/ Akıl yoksa eğerlim başta,/ Ne kuruda biter ne de yaşta!/ Diyelim bu gece de Allah işimizi rast getire!/ Yâr bana bir eğlence! Aman bana bir eğlence! (*Oh Lord! These are important words:/ In this world, if you want to be content,/ Don't listen to anyone, enjoy yourself!/ Find something to do, don't think too deep,/ Keep your feet warm, your head cool!/ They say:/ The way of reason is one, there is no other;/ If you do not have a mind to start with,/ Neither ends in the dry nor the age!/ Let's hope God helps us with our work tonight!/ A little fun for me! Oh, a little fun for me!) (Ertuğ 2010: 9).

Although he is beaten by Karagöz in every play, he still does not do without him (Ertuğ 2010: 93). He reminds Karagöz at every opportunity that he is a literate person with some education. In the play *Karagöz Uluslararası Şöhret* (Karagöz Acquires International Fame) he exclaimes, *Aman efendim, nasıl oldu? Ben, bu kadar zaman okudum yazdım; o kadar mürekkep yaladım ama, değil uluslararası, ülke çapında şöhret bile olamadım! Sen nasıl becerdin?* (Oh my dear sir, how can this happen? I've spent all this time reading and writing; educating myself, let alone internationally, I haven't even earned nationwide fame! How did you do it?) (Ertuğ 2010: 30) and by doing so while he emphasizes this feature, he also shows that he is a jealous type. Since he is talkative, knows how to feign friendship and is smooth-tongued, he considers the profession of politics as the most valid job of the

world. He explains this to Karagöz in the play *Karagöz'ün Politikacılığı* (Karagöz Enters Politics) (Ertuğ 2010: 63). When Karagöz says that politicism is based on lies, flaws and tricks, and that it is a very suitable job for him, he doesn't find this strange, instead he sees it as normal and adds:

Aman efendim, bunların kime ne zararı var? İlle de söylediğini yapmak gerekmez... Hele bir de Hasan'ın külahını Ahmet'e, Ahmet'inkini de Mehmet'e giydirdin mi, işler tamam! Bırak onlar birbiriyle didişsin, sen keyfine bak!... (Oh my dear sir, what harm does this cause anyone? It's not necessary to do what you preach... Especially if you put Hasan's hat on Ahmet and Ahmet's hat on Mehmet, it's done! Leave them to bicker and quarrel, you enjoy yourself!) (Ertuğ 2010: 63).

He finds Karagöz work; using his effective and persuasive way of talking he makes sure Karagöz gets into these jobs (Ertuğ 2010: 78). He loves to boast and is constantly pedantic (Ertuğ 2010: 101). From time to time, he makes Karagöz angry by using difficult and complicated words in a way that Karagöz cannot understand (Ertuğ 2010: 74). Although his knowledge no depth to it, he knows a little about everything and declares his opinion: In the play *Karagöz'ün Yaşı* (Karagöz's Age) (Ertuğ, 2010: 55–56), he talks about his knowledge of calculus and mathematics, in *Karagöz Trafikte* (Karagöz in Traffic) (Ertuğ 2010: 82), about the rules of traffic, in *Karagöz'ün Hastalanması* (Karagöz Falls Ill) (Ertuğ 2010: 25), about the things that should be done in order to steer clear from diseases, in *Karagöz'ün Şarkıcılığı* (Karagöz Tries His Luck at Singing) (Ertuğ 2010: 22), he states his opinion about which style of singing who be popular in the market, and in the play *Karagöz Tek'e Karşı* (Karagöz Against 'TEK') (Ertuğ 2010: 28) he talks about politics. He gives advice (Ertuğ 2010: 82). He always warns Karagöz about etiquette and tells him what to do: In the play *Karagöz'ün Temizliği* (Karagöz's Cleanliness) (Ertuğ 2010: 38), he talks about the rules of bathing and personal hygiene; in *Karagöz'ün Çevre Koruyuculuğu* (Karagöz The Environmentalist) (Ertuğ 2010: 40) he emphasizes the importance of being responsive to the environment, of keeping our environment clean and that closing one's mouth when yawning even in the dark are the qualities of a civilized human being; in the play *Karagöz'ün Adamlığı* (Karagöz's Humanity) (Ertuğ 2010: 96), he says that the act of greeting each other is good manners; and in the play *Karagöz'ün İyiliği* (Karagöz's Kindness) (Ertuğ 2010: 98) he recommends that it is necessary that one states their sympathies and condolences to the family and relatives of someone who has passed away. However, after all his preaching to Karagöz about these rules of etiquette, he is seen not following some of them (Ertuğ 2010: 40–41). He is an avaricious person. However, rather than doing the work himself, he arranges for Karagöz to do it instead (Ertuğ 2010: 58). He turns to trickery and shenanigans to get his way, he makes it seem like he is accepting what is being said, however eventually knows how to decieve Karagöz (Ertuğ 2010: 51). He is nosy; in almost all of the plays, he tries to find out what Karagöz is up to, where he is, and what he is doing. For this,

he shows up at Karagöz's doorstep at the crack of dawn. Although he is constantly insulted by Karagöz, he does not give up (Ertuğ 2010: 20). Karagöz addresses Hacivat with the following names: *Hacıvat, Hacıbuba, Hacıcavcav, Hacıvat Çelebi* (Chalabi) and *Hacıvat Efendi* (Effendi).

Hacivat's clothing is dominated by the colour green (Ertuğ 2007: 123; Ertuğ 2010: 139). *His headpiece is likened to the conical hat of the Nakhshibendi sect composed of a tall felt hat, a turban and a dalyazan piece which hangs down to the neck* (And 1969: 291). Just like Karagöz's one, a sash is wrapped around his waist and he also has a tobacco pouch hanging from it. He wears red knee-length pants. Unlike Karagöz, his face is thin and he has a goatee.

2.2.2. **The Women:** All the women that appeared in the Karagöz plays were collectively called *Zenne.* These were the women characters of the plays. In later periods, the zennes became independent characters and were named according to their work or kinship. There were also the zennes who appeared in *Ortaoyunu*, these were men who played the parts of women. Therefore, they should not be confused with the zennes in Karagöz.

From what we find out as a result of Mehmet Ertuğ's research and compilation work, many of the *zenne* characters present in the Turkish Karagöz Shadow Theatre also existed in the Karagöz Theatre plays in Cyprus. However, unfortunately, because the old texts had not been transcribed, we are confined to the limited information we have obtained from elderly Karagöz enthusiasts or the relatives of Karagöz masters (makers). The main women characters appearing in the plays written by Mehmet Ertuğ are: *Hanım Kız (Sümbül Hanım), Karagöz's Wife, Mr Furtuna Wife* and *Elmaz Köçek.*

Hanım Kız, Sümbül Hanım (The Young Girl, Miss Sümbül): This character is known as The Young Girl in the plays and she is the young and beautiful girl of the neighbourhood. Unlike many of the other women stereotypes of Turkish Karagöz plays, she appears as an honest and morally upright young girl. Plays in which she is seen are: *Karagöz'ün Akıl Satması* (Karagöz Gives Useless Advice), *Karagöz Milenyum'da* (Karagöz in the Millenium) and *Karagöz'ün İsim Değişmesi* (Karagöz Changes His Name). In all of the three plays she appears in, she enters into dialogue with Karagöz. She addresses Karagöz as *Dayı* (Uncle), *Garagöz Amca* (Uncle Garagöz) and *Karagöz Amca* (Uncle Karagöz). She enters the screen singing Cyprus songs. In the play *Karagöz'ün Akıl Satması* (Karagöz Gives Useless Advice) she sings the song: *Yumurtalar gaynıyor tavada,/ Münüse'min aklı fikri havada/ Ah aman aman Münüse'm aman,/ Yâr aman aman bir tanem aman!...* (Eggs are boiling in the pan,/ Münüsse's head is in the clouds/ Oh my dear Münüse/ Oh my dearest Münüse!...) (Ertuğ 2010: 14); in the play *Karagöz'ün İsim Değişmesi* (Karagöz Changes His Name) she sings: *Al olur, bal olur Gıbrıs gelini,/ Geline söyleyin benim halimi...* (Scarlet are, honey are the brides of Cyprus,/ Speak of my condition to the brides) (Ertuğ 2010: 50) and in the play *Karagöz Milenyum'da* (Karagöz in the Millenium) she sings: *Atladım bahçeye girdim*

aman... (I jumped and entered the garden oh dear...) (Ertuğ 2010: 74). When Karagöz meets the Young Girl on the street, he is captivated by her beauty and gets in a tizzy when around her. He usually uses these expressions to describe her beauty: ... *Aman Allah'ım bu da kim? Gökten melek mi endi ne? Aman bana bir şeyler oluyor; bu ne güzellik? Yirmi paralık aklım vardı, o da gitti* (Oh my God who is this? An angel from the skies or what? Something is happening to me; what a beauty? I had a mind worth twopennies and now it's gone) (Ertuğ 2010: 15). The Young Girl keeps Karagöz at arms length. Sometimes we also see her giving advice to Karagöz (Ertuğ 2010: 50). She is knowledgeable and complies with etiquette. In the play *Karagöz Milenyum'da* (Karagöz in the Millenium) she pays a visit to Karagöz to celebrate his new year (1 January 2000–Millennium) and explains to him what the millennium is (Ertuğ 2010: 74).

Red colour dominates her clothing (Ertuğ 2007: 111; Ertuğ 2010: 139). Under her single-legged long skirt she wears black *iskarpins* [9] on her feet. Her yellow and red coloured blouse has long wide sleeves that reach down to her wrists. On top of her head, she wears a red *hotoz* [10] with blue stripes. The *Hanım Kız* depiction has a very distinctive feature compared to other depictions of women: On the top, forehead section of the hotoz she wears on her head, there is a "moon and star", which resembles the star on the Turkish flag. With this feature, *Hanım Kız* (Miss Sümbül) has become one of the most popular among the Turkish Cypriot Karagöz characters. During the British colonial times of Cyprus, when the Turkish flag was forbidden, Miss Sümbül became a symbol of the nostalgia felt by Turkish Cypriots towards Turkey and fostered national-spiritual feelings of the people.

The body contours of her representation are pictured in detail. She has a thin waist and broad shoulders. Her long hair dangles from under her headdress and falls over her shoulders. Her face is extremely elegant. Her eyes and eyebrows are prominent, her cheeks are red, her nose is pointed and upright, and her lips are depicted as extremely small. She holds a small wand.

One of the last Karagöz masters of the Turkish Cypriot Karagöz plays, Lefkeli Mehmet Salih Efendi's (1922–1967) chest contained a depiction of the character Hanım Kız/Sümbül Hanım (The Young Girl/Miss Sümbül) which was renewed/copied from it's original by Mehmet Ertuğ and therefore made it to the present. It is not known to whom the design, construction and cutting of this original depiction belongs to. Mehmet Ertuğ writes that the depictions which came out of Mehmet Salih Efendi's chest were passed on to him from Mulla Hasan and Polili Karagözcü Hasan, to whom he had been an apprentice to; and that they dated back at least two generations, and that we also can understand this looking at the makings and forms of these depictions (Ertuğ 2007: 101).

[9] İskarpin: Heeled, low-cut shoes (*Turkish Dictionary* 2005: 982).

[10] Hotoz: a small decorative head piece worn over the hair by women, made in various shapes and colours (*Turkish Dictionary* 2005: 901).

Karagöz's Wife: She is in three plays. In these plays, she does not appear and we hear her speaking off screen. Usually she can't get along with her husband and argues with him. She's a nagging and noisy woman. She constantly insults Karagöz (Ertuğ, 2010: 34–35). She appears as a negative character who calls her husband *yamyam* (cannibal), *moruk* (geezer), *nonoş* (gay), and uses belittling comments like "*bana erkek koca lâzım*" (I need a man husband) when addressing him. Despite Karagöz's lack of money she constantly has desires (Ertuğ 2010: 86). Plays in which she is seen are: *Karagöz Light Erkek* (Karagöz the "Light" Male), *Karagöz Çağdaş Baba* (Karagöz the Contemporary Father) and *Karagöz'e Bayram Ziyareti* (A Bairam Visit to Karagöz). Navy blue colour is dominant in the clothing of Karagöz's wife (Ertuğ 2010: 141), whose design, drawing and cutting out belongs to Mehmet Ertuğ. She wears a red headscarf, dark blue *ferace* and black slippers.

Mr Furtuna's Wife: The only play we see her in is *Karagöz'ün Babalığı* (Karagöz and his Pops). She is the woman who is kidnapped by Karagöz. She enters the screen with the following song: *Düriyemin güğümleri kalaylı/ Fistan giymiş etekleri alaylı...* (The pitchers of my Duriye are tinned/ the skirts of my dress are jeering) (Ertuğ 2010: 45). She is a beautiful woman. When Karagöz sees her, he says, *Bu ne güzellik yârabbi? Bunu kaçırmalı!...* (What beauty this is? She must be taken!). She is naive, she believes Karagöz's lie immediately (Ertuğ 2010: 45).

Elmaz Köçek (The Young Actress): The Young Actress, or as she is known in the plays, Elmaz Köçek, is one of the entertaining characters of the Turkish Cypriot Karagöz plays; she appears on the screen at the end of the play. Therefore, she is not part of the plot of the play. As a positive turn of the events in the play, she is called upon usually by Karagöz - and sometimes by the Karagöz maker – *Giderayak şu Elmaz Köçeği çağırayım da keyfimiz yerine gelsin! Neredesin Elmaz, nerede?* (Before I go, let me call this Elmaz Köçek to come and entertain us! Where are you Elmaz, where?) (Ertuğ 2010: 16). On the screen, she dances to traditional music, Cyprus folk songs (Dillirga folk song) and to the tune of the nününü (nâreke – reed whistle). Plays in which she is seen are: *Karagöz'ün Akıl Satması* (Karagöz Gives Useless Advice), *Karagöz Barışçı* (Karagöz The Peacemaker), *Karagöz Uluslararası Şöhret* (Karagöz Aquires International Fame), *Karagöz Avrupa Birliği'nde* (Karagöz enters the European Union), *Karagöz Light Erkek* (Karagöz the "Light" Male), *Karagöz Ananistan'da* (Karagöz in Motherland), *Karagöz'ün Politikacılığı* (Karagöz Enters Politics), *Karagöz ve Hacivat Niçin Öldürülmedi?* (Why Wasn't Karagöz and Hacivat Killed?), *Karagöz Tumarhanacı* (Karagöz from the Madhouse), *Karagöz'ün Aptallığı* (Karagöz's Stupidity), *Karagöz Ozmosis'e Karşı* (Karagöz Against Osmosis), *Karagöz'ün Rum Sevgisi* (Karagöz's Love for Greek Cypriots), *Karagöz'ün Verimliliği* (Karagöz's Productivity), *Karagöz'ün İşe Girmesi* (Karagöz's Employment), *Karagöz'ün Adamlığı* (Karagöz's Humanity), *Karagöz'e Bayram Ziyareti* (A Bairam Visit to Karagöz), *Karagöz Ekonomik Krizde* (Karagöz in the Economic Crisis) and *Karagöz Karagözcü'ye Karşı* (Karagöz Against the Karagöz Maker).

Green and brown colours dominate the clothing of Elmaz Köçek's depiction, which was created and cut out by Mehmet Ertuğ (Ertuğ 2010: 140).

2.2.3. **The Men:** The male characters in Turkish Cypriot Karagöz plays can be grouped as the Muslims and Non-Muslims (*Zimmî*). The Muslim Characters are: *Tuzsuz Deli* (Crazy) *Bekir*, *Çelebi* (Chalabi), *Pekri* (Bekri), *Arap* (The Arab), *Arnavut Çavuş* (The Albanian Sergeant), *Acem/İranlı* (The Persian), *Hımhım Çelebi* (Chalabi), *Mahalle Muhtarı* (The Neighbourhood Mukhtar), *Nasreddin Hoca* (Hodja), *Keloğlan* (Bald Boy), *Deli* (Crazy) and *Zırzır Deli* (Completely Stark Crazy). The Non-Muslim (*Zimmî*) Characters are: *Rum* (The Greek Cypriot), *Yahudi* (The Jew), *Frenk* (The European) and *Zır Deli* (Stark Crazy).

Tuzsuz Deli (Crazy) *Bekir*: In Karagöz slang *Tuzsuz Deli* (Crazy) *Bekir* is also known as *Matiz*; he is the most important among all the hoodlums and drunken characters. He enters the screen by yelling out his famous call: *Heyyt, nedir be bu gürültü buracıkta?/ Var mı be bir yan bakan? Heyyte!* (Hey, what is this racket I hear? Does anyone dare to face me? Hey!) (Ertuğ 2010: 15). He brags with his skill in killing and even says that he cut his mother and father: *Anamı kesen ben, bubamı şişte çeviren gene ben!* (I am the one who cut my mother and I am the one who turned my father on a spit!) (Ertuğ 2010: 80). Frightening, intimidating and resorting to brute force is his greatest feature: by calling out *Bana adıynan şanıynan datsız duzsuz Deli Bekir derler!/ Var mı ulan bana yan bakan?* (They call me the famous *Tuzsuz* Crazy *Bekir*!/ Is there anyone who dares to face me?) (Ertuğ 2010: 51) he declares that he is ready for a fight at any time and in any situation. Despite his harsh appearance, the terrifying drunken yells and threats of killing, he is forgiving. In all the three plays he appears in, he shouts, threatens and intimates, however does not fight with Karagöz. He always forgives him at the last minute and does not punish him. He leaves the screen, as he appeared, shouting and yelling threats. *Tuzsuz Deli* (Crazy) *Bekir*, enters the screen to solve/settle the so-called complex situations, problems and to deal with the injustices that have occured, even though he actually has a part in the emergence of these situations. For example, in the play *Karagöz'un Kahveciliği* (Karagöz's Coffeehouse) he is one of the people who tricks Karagöz and does not pay for the coffee he has drank (Ertuğ 2010: 80).

Plays in which he is seen are: *Karagöz'ün Akıl Satması* (Karagöz Gives Useless Advice), *Karagöz'ün İsim Değişmesi* (Karagöz Changes His Name) and *Karagöz'ün Kahveciliği* (Karagöz's Coffeehouse). Red and greenish tones dominate his clothing (Ertuğ 2010: 140). He has a turban on his head, he wears a *cepken*[11] (a short embroidered jacket with full sleeves) on top, and *potur*[12] (jodhpurs) and embroidered *tozluk*[13] (gaiters) underneath. He has a wedge in one

[11] Cepken: A short collarless upper garment with slits and long sleeves (*Turkish Dictionary* 2005: 360).

[12] Potur: A pair of trousers which have lots of folds at the back and narrow leg sections (*Turkish Dictionary* 2005: 1623).

[13] Tozluk: A narrow cloth which can be fastened over the shoe or covering the leg from the knee to the ankle in order to protect the trouser leg from dust, gaiters (*Turkish Dictionary* 2005: 1999).

hand and a bottle of liquor in the other. He also has a sword hanging from his waist.

Çelebi (Chalabi): He is one of the important characters of the Karagöz plays. However, in Mehmet Ertuğ's Cyprus Turkish Karagöz plays, he only appears in the play *Karagöz Tumarhanacı* (Karagöz from the Madhouse). He enters the screen singing the popular song called *Katibim* (My Clerk). His dialogue is with Hacivat. He speaks in perfect standard Turkish. He is courteous, he respects the rules of etiquette. He appears in the play as the owner of an estate. He makes Hacivat a middleman to manage his madhouse (Ertuğ 2010: 68). One of the depictions which came out of the Karagöz Master Mehmet Salih of Lefka's trunk was *Çelebi* (Chalabi) (Ertuğ 2007: 120). The designer, creator and cutter of this depiction is unknown, however he is illustrated as a young, slim and tall lad. Red and brown tones dominate his clothing. He has a fez on his head.

Pekri (Bekri): Another one of the hoodlum and drunken characters is *Pekri (Bekri)*. He only appears in the play *Karagöz'ün Babalığı* (Karagöz and his Pops). Here, he appears as Karagöz's stepfather (pops). When Karagöz kidnaps Mr Furtuna's wife, he doesn't listen to anyone, he even opposes the security forces of the state. However, when *Pekri* comes, he is afraid of him and coming to his senses he releases the woman (Ertuğ 2010: 47). Pekri's attitude is a common feature among the hoodlums and drunkards in the plays. They are known for handling the complex situations encountered in the plays, solving problems and establishing authority over the people of the neighborhood. The owner of the design, making and cutout of the Pekri (Bekri) depiction which came out of the Karagöz master Lefkeli Mehmet Salih Efendi's chest is unknown; however, the colours dominating his clothing are mostly tones of green and brown (Ertuğ 2010: 144).

Arap (The Arab): He is one of the characters who comes from outside of Anatolia. He enters the screen with either the form of stereotypical *maval* (lie-fabricated words); *Yalelli yalelli, yalelli yalel!/ Yalelli yalelli, yalel ya felek!* (Ertuğ 2010: 58) or the chant; *Salamun aleykum,/ Alaykum salam!/ Salam, salam, salam!/ Salam ya seydi salam!* (Ertuğ 2010: 12). Plays in which he is seen are: *Karagöz'ün Akıl Satması* (Karagöz Gives Useless Advice), *Karagöz'ün İsim Değişmesi* (Karagöz Changes His Name) and *Karagöz'ün Buluşu* (Karagöz's Discovery). In all three plays, his dialogue is with Karagöz. Karagöz often refers to him as *Hacı* (Haji), *Hacı Fışfış* (Haji *Fışfış*), *Mezarlık Kargası* (The Cemetary Crow), *gündüz feneri* (the jocular black person) and *kelek* (fickle). In his speech he uses Arabic words such as, *lâ, ayva, mafiş, vallahel azim.* He speaks with broken Turkish and using the local vocal features of the region he comes from. Therefore, he cannot communicate with Karagöz. Most of the time, the two sides either don't understand each other or they misunderstand each other. This constitutes the laughing element of the play and is called *Taklit* (Mimic). Karagöz leaves the screen after he is beaten (Ertuğ 2010: 49). The design of The Arab depiction belongs to Mehmet Ertuğ and is drawn by giving his clothes mostly green and brown tones (Ertuğ 2010: 139). He is wearing a *kefiye* (kaffiyeh) on his head. He

wears an arabesque shirt and a skirt. He has a belt on his waist. His black bushy beard becomes pointed towards his chin.

Arnavut Çavuş (The Albanian Sergeant): He is one of the characters who comes from outside of Anatolia. He only appears in the play *Karagöz'ün Babalığı* (Karagöz and his Pops). He is one of the security forces of the state. He enters into a dialogue with Karagöz. A prominent feature of his speech is that he puts strong emphasis on the letter "r" and frequently uses the words *more* and *bre*. When Karagöz kidnaps Mr Furtuna's wife, he comes to arrest him; however, he escapes after being beaten by Karagöz (Ertuğ 2010: 46). The design, construction and cut out of the Albanian Sergeant depiction is not known and has come out of the trunk which belonged to the Karagöz Master Mehmet Salih of Lefka (Ertuğ 2010: 142); he is portrayed as the following: He wears a red fez on his head. On top, he wears a black shirt, underneath he wears a red *potur*, yellow *tozluk* and red shoes. He holds a carbine and a sword hangs from his waist. He is portrayed as a young man who does not have a moustache.

Acem (İranlı) (The Persian): Another one of the characters who comes from outside of Anatolia is *Acem*. He only appears in the play *Karagöz'ün Babalığı* (Karagöz and his Pops). He enters the screen with this song: *Eyrandan gelirem, başım duman/ Bir dost bulamadım, aman aman!* (I come from the land, my head in the clouds/ I could not find a friend, oh my, oh my!) (Ertuğ 2010: 46). He gets beaten by Karagöz and leaves the screen, saying, *Men de buradan gaçaram!* (I will leave this place!)

Hımhım Çelebi (Hımhım Chalabi): The character Hımhım, who can be evaluated among the disabled people of the Karagöz plays, is known for speaking through his nose. He only appears in the play *Karagöz'ün Babalığı* (Karagöz and his Pops). Karagöz, as with the other characters, mocks him and then beats him up (Ertuğ 2010: 46). There are two depictions of Hımhım in Turkish Cypriot Karagöz plays Hımhım Chalabi and *Burunsuz Hımhım* (Noseless Hımhım) (Ertuğ 2007: 118–119). These depictions came from the chest belonging to Karagöz master Mehmet Salih Efendi. Red and green colours dominate Hımhım Çelebi's clothing, which is another depiction whose artist for the design, construction and cutting is not known. Noseless Hımhım's clothing is dominated by red. Both are wearing a red fez on their heads. Both are short and stocky. Noseless Hımhım also has a cane in his hand.

Mahalle Muhtarı (The Mukhtar): He only appears in the play *Karagöz'ün Babalığı* (Karagöz and his Pops). He is a passer-by/temporary character in the play. These are characters who do not have much role in the Karagöz plays. He's responsible for the neighborhood security. In the play *Karagöz'ün Babalığı* (Karagöz and his Pops), he is intimidated by Karagöz, and therefore cannot restor order by neutralizing him.

Nasreddin Hoca (Nasreddin Hodja): Nasreddin Hodja (1208(?) – 1284 (?)) is a Turkish folk hero famous for his witty, thoughtful and humorous jokes. He is

considered to have lived in the XIII century Seljuk period. The Hodja has become a symbol of public intelligence with his jokes adopted by people of different social classes and strata from every generation who speak Turkish. In an assessment of the content of Nasreddin Hodja jokes/anecdotes in general, the following can be said: Through these jokes/anecdotes, the behaviors at the degree of bigotry of some people in society and of those who highlight their personal interests in their prayers were critisized, answered and satirized with very fine, witty, sarcastic responses. Nasreddin Hodja, in these jokes and with his quick and sharp intelligence has fought against those who have persecuted and wronged people; tyrants, minstrels, hypocrites, righteousers, and from time to time, as a result of his intelligence, been reduced to ridiculous and bad situations.

The plays collected under Mehmet Ertuğ's title "Turkish Humour in the Time Tunnel" which give place to Nasreddin Hodja are as follows: *Nasreddin Hoca'nın Saygısı* (Nasreddin Hodja's Respect), *Uygunsuz Soruya Usturuplu Cevap* (A Clever Answer to an Improper Question), *Herkes Haklı (Hoca'nın Kaldığı)* (Everyone is Right or Hodja the Qadi) and *Hoca Kıbrıs Sorununu Çözüyor* (Hodja Solves the Cyprus Problem). In all four of the aforementioned plays, Nasreddin Hodja appears in the middle of the screen riding his donkey *Kocaoğlan* backwards. After the classical Turkish music played with the *nününü*, the Karagöz Master (Mehmet Ertuğ) calls upon the Hodja with the following verse: *Hoca hoca hoca,/ Nasıreddin Hoca!/ Acep bu işleri,/ Nasıl ettin Hoca!* (Hodja Hodja Hodja,/ Nasıreddin Hodja!/ I wonder how,/ You do these things Hodja!) (Ertuğ 2010: 124, 126, 128, 130). Nasreddin Hodja appears in the plays as a wise person whom Karagöz and Hacivat consult with and take advice from, he is one who always shows the right path. With his characteristic style he gives social and political messages (Ertuğ 2010: 131). He is impartial, extremely fair, thinks thoroughly when deciding something, and reaches a judgment after listening to both sides of any disagreement (Ertuğ 2010: 127).

The appearance of Nasreddin Hodja's depiction (Ertuğ 2010: 141), whose design, illustration and cutting belongs to Mehmet Ertuğ, is as follows: He appears to be sitting facing backwards on his donkey *Kocaoğlan*. He is short, he has an extremely large head on a fairly chubby body. His face is round and covered with a lush white beard. He wears a large white turban on his head. He wears a collarless green shirt, a red sash on his waist and a purple shalwar underneath. He has a friendly, always smiling look.

Keloğlan (Bald Boy): One of the most popular heroes of Turkish folk tales is Keloğlan. Keloğlan is known for his amiability. He is a quick-witted, sociable character. He fights against evil in our fables; he is humane, determined and hardworking. He is an orphan and has an old and poor mother. He gains a social characteristic with he struggles he faces in his poor life. He is fearless. He always overcomes the evils he encounters with his own cunningness. He is resourceful and a master of words. At the beginning of the tales, he is often in despair and poverty.

However, he always finds a way to succeed in the end and becomes happy. In other words, Keloğlan tales always end happily.

Keloğlan was introduced to the Turkish Cypriot Karagöz plays by Mehmet Ertuğ; plays in which he appears are: *Nasreddin Hoca'nın Saygısı* (Nasreddin Hodja's Respect), *Uygunsuz Soruya Usturuplu Cevap* (A Clever Answer to an Improper Question), *Herkes Haklı (Hoca'nın Kadılığı)* (Everyone is Right or Hodja the Qadi) and *Hoca Kıbrıs Sorununu Çözüyor* (Hodja Solves the Cyprus Problem). As the plays begin, Keloğlan is shown at the top of the tree or roof. He enters the screen with a song that is specific to him:

Keloğlandır benim adım,/ Eşeğimin yok palanı,/ Varım yoğum doğruluktur,/ Hiç de sevmem ben yalanı! .../ Bir Kocakarı anam var,/ Birkaç tavuk, bir de inek,/ Her gün konar kel kafama,/ Evsiz kalmış birkaç sinek!... (My name is *Keloğlan* – Bald Boy,/ My donkey has no saddle,/ Righteousness is all I have,/ I don't like lies at all!.../ I have an old mother,/ A few chickens, and a cow,/ Every day,/ A couple of homeless flies/ land on my bald head!...) (Ertuğ 2010: 124, 126, 128, 130).

Keloğlan appears in the plays as a cute, curious character who laughs "he he he" at everything that is said. Often he is involved in the issues which occur between Karagöz and Hacivat, and he gets more pleasure by mixing things up than helping resolving them. He is very respectful to Nasreddin Hodja. Hodja refers to him as "Keloğlum, Keleşoğlum" (My Bald Boy, My Baldy Boy). At the end of some plays the message is delivered by Keloğlan: *Böyle başa; böyle tıraş!/ Yaşşa Hocam, yaşa!* (For a head like this; a shave like this!/ Long live Hodja, live! (Ertuğ 2010: 127).

The design, drawing and cutout of the Keloğlan depiction (Ertuğ, 2010: 141) belonging to Mehmet Ertuğ, is as follows: He is drawn as a thin, skinny, young lad. His head is completely bald and his feet are bare. He wears a long-sleeved, collared green shirt; underneath he wears red baggy trousers which are cut under the knee. He holds a stick in his left hand which rests on his shoulder and we can see a bundle (food wrapped in a handkerchief) hanging on the end of his stick.

Deli (Crazy): Crazy is considered to belong to a group of defected characters seen in Karagöz plays; he is the first of the three madmen which appear in the play *Karagöz Tumarhanacı* (Karagöz from the Madhouse). He only appears in this play. Karagöz tries to catch and lock him up in the madhouse because of his bizarre actions and speech. However, Karagöz cannot catch him and he escapes. He enters the screen repeating these meaningless words: *Zarta da zırto zart- zarta da zırto zurt!* (loud but empty talk) (Ertuğ 2010: 68). He asks Karagöz meaningless and ridiculous questions like: *Bana bak dayı, geçen ayın çarşambası, bu ayın perşembesinden altı arşın kısa gelmiş. Bunuyunan çarşıdan kaç okka domates-hıyarcık alınır?* (Hey uncle look here; last month's Wednesday appears to be six yards shorter from this month's Thursday. How many tomatoes and cucumbers can we buy from the market with this?) The design, illustration and cutout of Deli's depiction belongs to Mehmet Ertuğ (Ertuğ 2007: 125) and his appearance is as follows: He is not properly dressed.

His upper body is naked. On his lower body he wears green shalwar trousers which are baggy on the top and tight at the bottom. The most interesting aspect of the depiction is a pan which appears on his head instead of a hat. His feet are bare. He wears earrings on his ears and a necklace on his neck.

Zırzır Deli (Completely Stark Crazy): He is the other madman in the play *Karagöz Tumarhanacı* (Karagöz from the Madhouse). He enters the screen repeating the nonsensical blabber: *Çay Kada Keskos, Çiy Kada Keskos, hey Allah küs!* (Ertuğ 2010: 69). He also asks Karagöz meaningless, strange questions: *Tavuk göğsünün tırnağına muhallebi tabağı neden basmış?* (Why did the chicken breast press a custard plate on its fingernail?) or *Gologas musaggasının gurgurasına gullûrinin garacoccosu neden kaçtı?* (Why did the dessert's black cumin seed get stuck in the throat of the taro moussaka?) (Ertuğ 2010: 69). Completely Stark Crazy is the largest built and tallest of all the madmen in the play. When Karagöz sees him, he says, *Aman Hacıvat, gurtar beni, delilerin ağa babası geldi! Boya bak; adam gorkusuz yerde büyümüş, bostan gorkuluğu sanki!* (Oh Hacivat, save me, the master of all mad people has come! Look how tall he is; the man has grown up in a fearless place, it's as if he is a scarecrow!) An interesting aspect of Mehmet Ertuğ's design, drawing and cutting of the character *Zırzır Deli* (Ertuğ 2007: 125) is that a funnel is attached to his head. His clothing resembles that of the First Madman. He is also not properly dressed. His feet are bare. He wears earrings on his ears and a necklace on his neck.

Rum (The Greek Cypriot): The most common non-Muslim character in the Turkish Cypriot Karagöz Plays is the Greek Cypriot. The fact that the Turks and Greeks were sharing the same island, and that they lived together, side by side or separately was the reason why the character the Greek Cypriot was frequently used. The plays that he appears in are: *Karagöz'ün Akıl Satması* (Karagöz Gives Useless Advice), *Karagöz Kıbrıs Sorununu Çözüyor* (Karagöz Solves the Cyprus Problem), *Karagöz'ün İsim Değişmesi* (Karagöz Changes His Name), *Karagöz'ün Buluşu* (Karagöz's Discovery), *Karagöz Tumarhanacı* (Karagöz from the Madhouse), *Karagöz Milenyum'da* (Karagöz in the Millenium), *Karagöz'ün Kahveciliği* (Karagöz's Coffeehouse) and *Yorgo ile Söyleşi* (Interview with George). His Turkish is accented and broken. He often adds Greek words and sentences to his speech, such as: *Galisberasas* (good evening), *endaksi* (okay), *ohi* (no), *vre* (be), *boli efgola* (very easy), *voihiya* (help), *U banayiya mu* (oh my god) ... In eight plays that he appears, his dialogue is only with Karagöz. Karagöz usually does not understand or pretends not to understand what the Greek Cypriot says. He often makes fun of his broken Turkish. He calls him *Urumoğlu* (son of a Greek) or *Yarım dilli* (half-tongued). Sometimes he would curse rudely, such as: *Ağzını topla, yoksa tepelerim ey mahallenin pe...ngi!* (Watch your mouth, or I will kick your butt, you pimp of the neighbourhood!) (Ertuğ 2010: 59). He would enter the screen mostly with the following song: *Aman yatre (doktor), canım gulûm yatre.../*

Derdime bir tsare (çare)! (Oh doctor, my dearest darling doctor.../ Find a remedy to my troubles! (Ertuğ 2010: 18, 49, 70) or *Haniya da benim, elli da dirrem basdurmam...* (Where is my fifty drachmai of pastrami...) (Ertuğ 2010: 49,59). Whereas sometimes he would sing the following song: *E gathises do gafene,/ Bini gafe nargile...* (Ertuğ 2010: 49, 79).

In the play *Karagöz'ün Akıl Satması* (Karagöz Gives Useless Advice), the introductory song is: *Bandepses me bu mikri* (you've married me when I was so little)*/ Me do yero don bekri!* (With an old drunkard!)*/ Di tha su bo manulâ mu?* (What can I tell you mother?)*/ Mana, mana,* (Oh mother, mother)*/ Manzura na mu!...* (My dear mother!) (Ertuğ 2010: 13). Sometimes he would appear as a doctor who is trying to cure Karagöz of a disease (in the *Karagöz Tumarhanacı* – Karagöz from the Madhouse – play) and sometimes as a customer who swindles him (in the *Karagöz'ün Kahveciliği* play). In some plays he takes the name *Yorgo* (in *Yorgo ile Söyleşi* – Interview with George – play). He leaves the screen, often after being beaten up by Karagöz, and screams the following stereotypical expression: *U banayiya mu; adam olduruyorlar* (they are committing a murder)*; Voihiya, voihiya!...* (Ertuğ 2010: 49). With his accented, broken Turkish, he mispronounces Karagöz's name as *Garauyuz* (Blackscabby) and Hacivat's as *Hacıhayvan* (Hadjianimal): *Ne vurun vre Garauyuz Efendi? Beni yollâdi Hacihayvan Efendi!* (Why are you hitting me Garauyuz Efendi? Hacihayvan Efendi sent me!) (Ertuğ 2010: 13). In some plays, he even puts forward his political views with regards to the Turks (Ertuğ 2010: 18).

There is more than one illustration (depiction) of the Greek Cypriot character. Depictions are designed in various ways depending on the subject of the plays. The outfit of the Greek Cypriot Doctor's (Yatre) depiction, which came out of the chest of Karagöz Master Lefkeli Mehmet Salih Efendi and was renewed by Mehmet Ertuğ, whose designer, creator and cutter is unknown, is dominated by the colour black. He wears a tight trousers and a tight jacket that is well-fitted to the body. A blue shirt appears through his jacket. He wears a small red bow tie. He wears long-pointed shoes. He has a black top hat on his head. He has a doctor's bag in his left hand and a stethoscope hanging from his ears (Ertuğ 2010: 142). The Greek Cypriot (*Yorgo*) depiction designed and cut by Mehmet Ertuğ is also dominated top to bottom with black clothing (Ertuğ 2010: 140).

Yahudi (The Jew): Another one of the non-Muslim characters in the Karagöz Plays is The Jew. The plays that he appears in are: *Karagöz'ün Akıl Satması*, *Karagöz'ün Babalığı*, *Karagöz'ün İsim Değişmesi*, *Karagöz'ün Buluşu* ve *Karagöz'ün Kahveciliği*'dir. He would enter the screen with the following song: *Baylari Kapisinde/ Ben yordum oni,/ Hade da islağidi,/ Hem şalvari, hem doni.../ Arara isderra arravağı/ Sandala mandala vizzo vizzo* (loud but empty talk) (Ertuğ 2010: 14). Sometimes he would take the place on the screen with the following song: *Arara isderra arravagi,/ İ Yahudi, i Yahudi, i Yahudi!/ Şalom, şalom, şalom...* (Ertuğ 2010: 58). The most important feature of the

character The Jew is his fondness of money (Ertuğ 2010: 50). A few of his other characteristics are his stubbornness, his haggling and his cunningness (Ertuğ 2010: 14). He does not want to spend money because he is stingy and avaricious. He is even willing to go rogue for this (Ertuğ 2010: 79–80). Karagöz doesn't like The Jew's avariciousness and his broken Turkish. He sings about this all the time: *Senden, başka ne beklenir zaten masgara? (vurur, Yahudi kaçar) Onun için dünya Yahudi'nin elinde! Bizim gibi Allah'tan eylik, hükümetten aylık! diyerek 3-5 kuruşa talim etmez adamlar!* (What else would you expect from a zany like you? (he hits; the Jew runs away) That is why the world is in the hands of the Jews! They are not like us and say, O, health from the Almighty, salary from the government! and wait for 3-5 pennies to live!) (Ertuğ 2010: 58). The Jew insults Karagöz by using his broken Turkish and pronouncing his name incorrectly: *E da bu kafada akîl vardir beyim?* (Is there a mind in this head, mister?) or *Nerededir o Paragöz?* (Where is that Paragöz/Money grubber?) or *Tabiyi da yeldim be Garayüz Efendi!* (I have come of course, Mister Garayüz/Blackface!). Karagöz addresses him as *Yahuda* (Judah), *Yahudi oğlu Yahudi* (Jewish Son of Jew) ve *masgara* (Zany).

The Jew depiction that came out of the chest of the Karagöz Master Lefkeli Mehmet Salih Efendi (Ertuğ 2007: 115) and the Jew depiction designed and cut out by Mehmet Ertuğ (Ertuğ 2010: 140) are almost the same. The clothing of the depiction belonging to Mehmet Ertuğ is dominated by yellowish colours. The most important feature of the Jew depiction is the shape of his beard, pointed and divided in the middle like a fork. The fez on the head is yellow, not red.

Frenk (The European): He is only seen in the play *Karagöz'ün Buluşu* (Karagöz's Invention). He enters the screen with the following song: *Lâ don ney mobile!* (loud but empty talk) (Ertuğ 2010: 59). He uses Italian words such as *A mamiya, a mamiya!* or *Bon jorno, bon jorno!* Drawn and cut by Mehmet Ertuğ, the European depictions (Ertuğ 2010: 142) have clothing as follows: he wears a top hat on his head, a blue shirt with a starched upright collar, *frak*[14] and long-pointed shoes. He carries a baton.

Zır Deli (The Crazy): He is one of the mad characters in the *Karagöz Tumarhanacı* (Karagöz from the Madhouse) play. He enters the screen repeating the words: *Afdos giros aforos boros- Afdos giros poforos boros!* (loud but empty talk) (Ertuğ 2010: 69). He speaks Turkish with a Greek accent and adds Greek words such as *yasu* or *miso ce miso* in between his sentences. His actions and ideas are meaningless and irrational. For example, *Mesarya ormanlarına balik yağmış; bir sepet al da gidip toplayalim...* (They say that it has rained fish onto the Mesaoria forests; get a basket, and let's go and collect them) or *Öyleyse gidip Gannidere'deki gurbağilara da haber vereyim...* (Then let me go and inform the

[14] Frak: Men's black jacket and suit with long skirt and slits to the waist behind the skirt that are worn in official ceremonies, tailcoat (*Türkçe Sözlük/Turkish Dictionary* 2005: 716).

frogs in Pedieos...) Designed, drawn and cut out by Mehmet Ertuğ, The Crazy depiction (Ertuğ 2010: 143) looks similar to the other mad characters. The interesting feature of this depiction is the pot on his head. He also wears a cross around his neck, symbolizing his nationality and holds an ice cream in his hand.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

During the times when technology wasn't that well developed, these plays, which became the centre of the entertainment culture and attracted masses of people, as well as have an important place within the Turkish Cypriot social life, continued to exist very vividly from the years they were carried to the island, up until the 1960s. Today (after the 2000s), Karagöz comes to life in contemporary plays, which Mehmet Ertuğ and İzel Seylani wrote and adapted into a play as part their studies to update the tradition. Being the most important social activity at one time, Karagöz theatre has been examined and studied by folklorists and actors such as Mehmet Ertuğ, Mustafa Gökçeoğlu and İlke Susuzlu and various compilations of Karagöz have been made, and many texts of Karagöz theatre have been incorporated into the curriculums of the primary and secondary school textbooks. Apart from these, *Cyprus Turkish Karagöz House* designed by Mehmet Ertuğ in the historic Büyük Han (Great Inn) has been brought into the service of public. All of these efforts are for the survival of the Karagöz theatre tradition. So I hope that we will see their positive effects in the near future.

Certainly, the spreading of such works is essential for preserving the tradition and our cultural history. What can be done in this respect? What kind of solutions can be put forward? In order for the Turkish Cypriot people to benefit from this productive resource sufficiently, it seems necessary that folklorists, playwrights, screenwriters and dramaturges should demand the support of the state and start such activities immediately. Adapting Karagöz into a screenplay or bringing it on a theatre stage can give it a new impulse. Radio programmes and skits related to Karagöz can be prepared and broadcasted. Starting from primary schools, in all school levels awareness can be raised through competitions based on producing texts specific to Karagöz theatre. Our universities have also some significant roles in this regard. Seminars and conferences should be organised, university students should be given assignments, asked to do research, read academic dissertations and make compilations within the context of traditional Turkish theatre specially in Turkish Language and Literature Departments. Productions to be made by the researchers and academics working in the field of traditional Turkish theatre will fill the scientific gap. Today, the old Karagöz puppeteers and the spectators of Karagöz are passing away. Therefore, compilations regarding Karagöz theatre tradition should be completed as soon as possible. Finding primary sources, interviewing them and recording the collected

data will enlighten and enrich our past about Karagöz. It should be everyone's social duty to transfer this culture to the next generations in order to prevent it from getting disappeared or turning Karagöz tradition into a frozen cultural element.

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LE CAFTAN: ELEMENTS D'ORIGINE, D'HISTOIRE ET DE LA FONCTION D'UN COSTUME TRADITIONNEL

NASSIRA BEKKOUCHE, MUSTAFA GNAW

RESUME

Cet article est une contribution à l'histoire et la mémoire du costume traditionnel en Algérie qui serait, dans le temps, masculin avant qu'il soit féminin. Cette approche nous permet de mettre en avant un costume d'apparat, valorisé lors des cérémonies et fêtes familiales. D'ailleurs, il a trouvé son apparition à Tlemcen, ancienne capitale du Maghreb central. A partir des premières mobilités des Tlemceniens, à travers tout le territoire algérien, le costume féminin, communément appelé *Kaftan tlemceni* (caftan tlemcenien), fut découvert par les citadines dans les villes depuis l'ouest jusqu'à l'est du pays. Sa réputation a été généralisée pour faire valoir une tenue de fêtes et de cérémonies.

Mots clés: le Caftan, tenue d'apparat, cérémonies et fêtes, costume traditionnel, Tlemcen, Algérie, Maghreb.

INTRODUCTION

Avant de pouvoir discuter du costume féminin traditionnel, il est nécessaire, et en premier lieu, de définir ce que signifie, pour les initiés des tenues vestimentaires d'apparat et de cérémonies, le costume. La définition ne se limite pas à la question *qu'est ce qu'un costume?* Il s'agit principalement de la portée de ce costume, qui est un signe et une valeur que seuls les spécialistes, anthropologues et sociologues, sont en mesure de faire valoir l'approche ethnographique de ce que peut porter une personne, qu'elle soit une femme ou un homme.

Plusieurs questions peuvent être posées. Elles portent essentiellement sur l'histoire du costume traditionnel et surtout ses fonctions dans le quotidien ou à l'occasion d'une cérémonie, voire un événement familial. Le sujet porte sur le costume en général avant d'aborder la spécificité et le genre. L'histoire du costume nous conduit à l'approfondissement des connaissances relatives à son passé, son temps et aux circonstances de son port. Sur la base de ces éléments d'information relatifs au costume, nous avons formulé la problématique suivante: quels sont

l'histoire et les fonctions du caftan en Algérie? Notre approche va porter principalement sur l'usage et le sens du vocable *caftan* avant de pouvoir aborder les points relatifs à son origine, à son port, aux circonstances et aux événements de sa mise en valeur. Ces moments peuvent s'expliquer par la tradition et les habitudes qui sont d'ordre socio culturel.

Par le costume, il faut entendre la manière de porter cette tenue dans un pays territorialement délimité et surtout à une époque donnée. Défini, le costume demeure attaché à une pratique sociale et une culture[1] où s'associent les signes, les symboles et les portées d'ordre socio culturel, voire anthropologique.

Le vocable *costume* tire son origine du mot coutume[2]. A chaque époque, et pour chaque pays, la société connait et utilise les habits; mais chaque peuple a ses habitudes de porter des costumes, suivant sa culture, ses traditions et ses pratiques sociales[3], voire culturelles. Tout costume se fait valoir par ses fonctions.

FONCTIONS DU COSTUME DANS LE PASSE

Depuis son existence sur terre, l'homme commença à découvrir la couverture de son corps contre les intempéries (chaleur et froid). A cet effet, il fit ses débuts dans l'utilisation et l'usage des produits de la nature pour se couvrir et se vêtir contre le soleil torride et le froid, parfois très rude dans certaines villes comme Tlemcen. Il est nécessaire de faire valoir la différence entre un costume ordinaire et un costume d'apparat. Si le premier est un vêtement ordinaire porté dans le quotidien, le second présente des particularités dont les circonstances de sa mise en valeur, lors d'un événement familial ou une cérémonie.

La question, celle qui nous interpelle nous renvoie au travail de Barthes (Roland)[4]. Il a été le premier à évoquer l'histoire du costume[5]. Son étude nous conduit à faire valoir le costume algérien en général et le costume d'apparat tlemcenien en particulier. Très peu d'études, celles qui existent déjà nous interpellent pour mieux saisir l'importance des besoins chez l'Homme (femme et/ou homme).

Le besoin de se couvrir le corps et de le vêtir conduit l'être humain à innover et surtout à créer des objets pour se satisfaire personnellement et individuellement[6] avant de passer aux autres membres de sa famille; puis ceux de la société à laquelle il appartient. Parmi les choses, que l'Homme avait créées, nous parlons du costume à usage corporel. Aujourd'hui, nous parlons d'anthropologie du vêtement[7].

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[1] Gherchanoc et Huet 2007.
[2] Nous renvoyons aux *Dictionnaire Larousse*. Paris, 2018, Belkaid 1998, pp. 10-150.
[3] Aouf 2004, pp. 4-145.
[4] Barthes 1957, pp. 430-441.
[5] Id. pp. 430-432.
[6] Id. pp. 435-437.
[7] Delaporte 1981, pp. 3-13.

Barthes (Roland) nous initie dans le cadre de son étude à faire du costume d'appart tlemcenien, un objet d'étude et de recherche puisque nous cherchons à faire valoir le costume en général et le caftan, en particulier : nous nous intéressons aux «signifiant et signifié»[8].

Par le temps, l'Homme chercha à améliorer les conditions de son quotidien, la vie sociale et ses pratiques sociales d'ordre vestimentaire. Dans ce cadre, il avait réalisé des objets dont il avait vraiment besoin pour se vêtir. Telle est sa principale préoccupation quotidienne: faire valoir sa vie en famille, en groupe et en société. Chaque costume, qu'il soit ordinaire ou d'apparat, a son langage[9]. A cet effet, le costume a pour fonctions:

a) vêtement: se vêtir contre les intempérie[10]; devant les intempéries, l'Homme est allé chercher un moyen de se vêtir pour se couvrir le corps, sensible au froid et à la chaleur[11];

b) le port du costume par pudeur; depuis qu'il soit conscient de la distinction du genre, l'Homme découvrit ce qui est la pudeur chez l'être humain. Sa culture lui permit de cacher, progressivement, plusieurs parties de son corps, allant de l'intimité jusqu'aux marques d'attraction et d'attirance corporelle[12];

c) le sens de classification; cette fonction est plus importante par rapport aux précédentes. Elle est étroitement liée au sens et à la signification du costume, porté par l'être humain[13]. En effet, il traduit le sens par la classification, alors définie, pour mettre en avant:

- le rang social;
- la classe sociale.
- l'identification sociale;
- l'appartenance à une corporation socio professionnelle[14];
- l'indicateur d'un événement[15];
- le déterminé dans les codes sociaux[16].

Par le sens de la classification et des caractéristiques, chaque costume présente des marqueurs qui renvoient aux codes qui restent respectifs et déterminants.

LE COSTUME ET LES CODES

On peut étudier aussi le costume, en le décomposant en plusieurs codes:

- le code de la matière[17];

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[8] Id. pp. 438-441.
[9] Cassagnes-Brouquet & Dousset Seiden 2012.
[10] La chaleur du soleil torride et du froid.
[11] Il s'agit uniquement une protection du corps humain, d'une protection contre les intempéries.
[12] De Rasse 2010, pp. 119-128.
[13] Herpin 1986, pp. 35-54.
[14] Barthes 1957.
[15] On peut dire aussi que le costume indique l'évènement (mariage, fiançailles, deuil).
[16] www.euhopsy.org.
[17] Velours, soie, coton etc.

- le code des couleurs[18]; la signification des couleurs s'enrichit par toutes les données de l'histoire, de la culture, de la religion ou de la politique;
- le code des décors[19].

En reconstituant tous ces codes on obtiendra un sens et une signification; c'est de cette manière qu'il se décompose, identique à celle d'une phrase et après la recomposition, s'appliquait aussi comme pour la langue.

D'ailleurs, Ferdinand De Saussure (1857-1913) et Charles Sanders Pierce (1939-1914) confirmaient les champs d'intérêt scientifique à savoir la sémiologie du vêtement, sans oublier d'autres tels que la psychologie. Il est à noter que la sémiologie du vêtement permet, et ceci grâce à la psychologie de déterminer le sens des diverses combinaisons effectuées, individuellement, par la personne.

Tout ce que nous portons comme vêtements a un sens. Parfois, nous le faisons, d'une manière automatique, générale ou involontaire. De plus en plus, nous comprendrons le sens même de son histoire, en étudiant principalement l'évolution du vêtement et de ses formes anciennes ou successives après diverses motivations, étroitement liées à son amélioration.

De cette manière, nous pouvons comprendre le vêtement, sa forme initiale, son amélioration, son histoire et d'autres champs d'étude scientifique tels que la géographie, l'art, la politique, les échanges commerciaux, la langue, les religions, la philosophie et bien entendu la psychologie des vêtements des femmes et des enfants[20]. A titre d'exemple de vêtement, nous évoquons le nom du caftan de Tlemcen, un vêtement qui aujourd'hui se présente comme vêtement d'apparat féminin.

LE CAFTAN DE TLEMCEN, CLASSE PATRIMOINE

Après l'année de «Tlemcen, capitale de la culture islamique», en 2011, la *shedda* tlemcenienne a été proposée, en sa qualité de tenue festive et nuptiale, par le Centre national des recherches préhistoriques, anthropologiques et historiques d'Alger, pour être classée patrimoine culturel immatériel de l'humanité, le 5 décembre 2012, par l'UNESCO. Depuis, le Centre national d'interprétation du costume traditionnel de Tlemcen célèbre annuellement le caftan tlemcenien, voire la shedda traditionnelle et ancestrale[21].

La shedda de Tlemcen est l'une des tenues traditionnelles algériennes[22] qui présente des marqueurs d'occasions et événements festifs et de cérémonie pour rappeler sa fonction de costume d'apparat en Algérie. Elle est connue et surtout

[18] Jaune, vert, bleu, etc.
[19] La broderie, les boutons, la ceinture… etc.
[20] Psychologie des vêtements.
[21] http://www.cnrpah.org.
[22] Id.

réputée à travers les grandes villes citadines de l'ouest algérien. Sa constitution nous renvoie au travail de l'artisanat local où les fillettes prenaient soins pour réaliser des merveilles.

Ce travail artisanal relève de l'apanage des mains expertes et du faire valoir de l'héritage ancestral dont l'origine remonte à l'arrivée des musulmans, chassés des grandes provinces de l'Andalousie. L'histoire et la mémoire sont présentes et viennent pour mettre en avant l'existence de ce costume traditionnel du temps des princes de l'ancienne capitale du Maghreb central[23].

Par sa forme, il est attirant et il s'impose par sa grandeur symbolique et la diversité des couleurs dont le doré, en provenance du fil d'or, communément appelé *mejboud*. D'ailleurs, les femmes de Tlemcen parlent de shedda traditionnelle, du fait mains à partir du velours et l'usage du fil d'or.

En tant que tenue de festivités familiales et de cérémonies locales, le caftan n'est jamais porté, lors des fêtes familiales, sans accessoires. Nous avons relevé, lors de la présentation, voire description du caftan traditionnel de Tlemcen, et selon la culture locale, plusieurs accessoires dont: l'ornement et perles des colliers de type *sch-bika*, les bijoux avec une diversité en objet or tels que la *meskiya*, *l-kraffach* et le *zerrouf*, la *khorça*, genre de pendants perlés, la *chechia*, une calotte sous sa forme conique, travaillée au fil d'or, *jbayen*, des diadèmes, etc.

Avec des robes et la *foutat el mensouj*, cet ensemble qui constitue la shedda, la fierté socio culturelle des femmes tlemceniennes, celles qui se valorisent par cette tenue traditionnelle d'apparat, lors des fêtes de familles. Elle identifie le rang social de la femme qui le porte. D'ailleurs, la shedda est classée comme tenue traditionnelle et costume nuptial à Tlemcen pour tous les Algériens. Le caftan fait partie de la shedda de Tlemcen dont la réputation avait dépassé le territoire algérien.

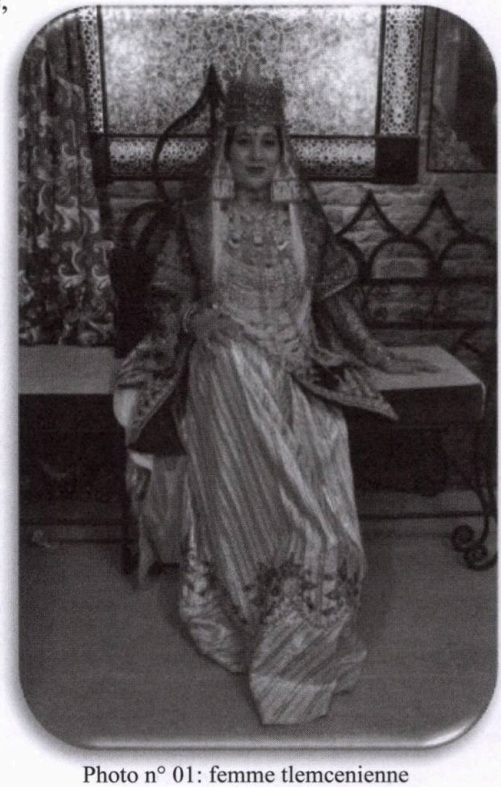

Photo n° 01: femme tlemcenienne vêtu d'un caftan; source: google.fr

[23] Id.

LE CAFTAN ENTRE REPRESENTATION ET FONCTIONS DANS LA MEMOIRE COLLECTIVE

Le terme utilisé pour désigner le vêtement communément appelé localement ([24]) Caftan est d'origine ottomane Qaftan قفتان, lui-même emprunté au persan ou plutôt de la langue persane, khaftan خفتان. Pour être plus explicite, il s'agit d'une tenue de guerrier plus particulièrement une tenue de cavalier.

Pour sa description, le caftan est un long vêtement, oriental, simple et souvent richement décoré.-Le caftan était initialement une robe de considération et de valeur chez les Turcs; et il était le symbole et le signe du pouvoir chez les rois, comme il a été également un élément de différenciation et de distinction entre les rois et leurs esclaves.

A cet effet, nous évoquons, pour l'histoire et la mémoire, les noms de quelques sultans turcs, ceux qui portaient le caftan tels que Sultan Mourad (1362-1389), sultan Bayazid (1389-1402), sultan Muhamed (1451-1481), sultan Selim I (1512-1520) etc.

Photo n° 02: caftan de sultan Ahmed; source: https://www.pinterest.com

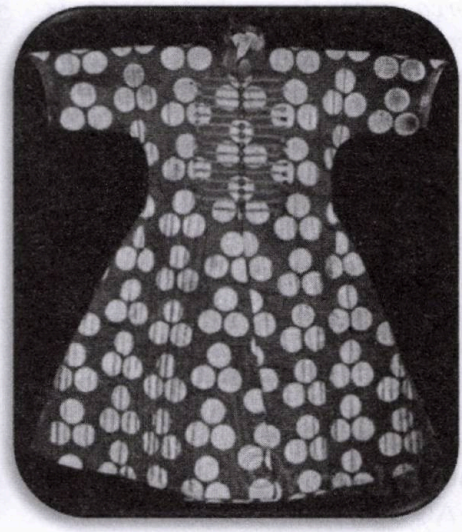

Photo n° 03: caftan de sultan Selim; source: https://www.pinterest.com

[24] A travers le territoire national.

A titre illustratif, nous rappelons que les Algériens, les hommes, portaient le caftan, telle que le démontre la photo ci-dessous.

Photo n° 04: caftan porté par un Algérien;
source: https//www.pinterest.com

Photo n° 05: caftan algérien;
source: https://www.pinterest.com

LE CAFTAN, UN COSTUME AU 19ième SIECLE

Pour l'histoire, les hommes sont déjà les premiers à porter le caftan. Il est important à signaler que le Caftan était connu avec une diversité de couleurs et de formes. Par exemple, il y avait des caftans qui étaient simples et utilisés pour le travail. En temps de guerre, il faisait fonction de tablier: le cavalier le serrait avec une grosse ceinture à laquelle il accrochait son couteau ou son sabre.

Ainsi que pour la femme, lorsqu'elle portait son caftan et elle le serrait également avec une ceinture afin de pouvoir lui faciliter l'activité domestique. Et cela, nous rappelle des Tlemceniennes qui étaient vêtues en caftan et elles lavaient leur linge aux Cascades, *chellalat de Lourit* près d'Ain Fezza, une localité située à une dizaine de kilomètres de la ville de Tlemcen.

Par ailleurs, nous rappelons un autre type de caftan qui était très riche en matière (Satin, velours, brocart) et en broderie, voire en plusieurs couleurs (fil

d'or). Il avait une autre vocation qui était, d'ailleurs, cérémoniale et festive; il était devenu un vêtement d'apparat pour plusieurs cérémonies et fêtes familiales. Cette question nous interpelle pour parler de l'origine du caftan algérien.

ORIGINE DU CAFTAN TLEMCENIEN

Faisant partie du berceau culturel du bassin méditerranéen, l'Algérie plutôt la société algérienne avait connu de grandes mutations d'ordre social, d'ordre géopolitique et surtout le peuplement est devenu une situation sociale considérablement influencée dans le cadre des registres telle que la manière de vivre et la manière de s'habiller. Cette situation nous pousse à parler du costume algérien.

Le costume algérien est devenu, en quelque sorte, le témoin d'une histoire millénaire, le reflet d'une entité, si diversifiée et unifiée à la fois[25]. Et comme l'Algérie en général et Tlemcen en particulier, il avait connu plusieurs civilisations, celles qui ont laissé leurs traces et empreintes culturelles sur le patrimoine vestimentaire[26].

L'expansion géographique de l'Islam avait socialement et culturellement contribué à sa propagation progressive et à ses transformations évolutives: «la civilisation musulmane, à son apogée, transmit d'abord les secrets des étoffes, de Damas, de Bagdad, du Caire; puis ceux des cités de l'Espagne musulmane à un moment où l'occident musulman, Maghreb et andalou, formait une aire culturelle distincte ou les différents aspects de la vie s'imposent: architecture, musique, costume, cuisine… etc. Ils avaient leur propre cachet qui le différenciât du reste du monde musulman»[27].

En parlant des habits des rois, plusieurs études ont été effectuées pour désigner et démontrer les approches et les apports socio culturels; et d'un mémoire sur les costumes des Perses, nous avons relevé: «On remarquait avec le plus grand étonnement les habits du roi, sa tunique de pourpre était mi-partie de blanc, on avait brodé en or sur son manteau qui était chamarré de dorure… une ceinture dorée semblable à celle des femmes, soutenait son poignard qui était fait d'une seule pierre précieuse»[28] et dans plusieurs autres recherches on relève que «Alexandre adopta le luxe des Perses et une partie de l'habillement de leur rois»[29]; donc, les Grecs ont beaucoup pris du costume des Perses.

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[25] Aouf 2004, p. 4.
[26] Id. p. 6.
[27] Graindor et Gregoire, p. 4.
[28] *Mémoire de l'Institut national des sciences et arts, littérature et beaux arts…*
[29] Ibid.

Photo n° 06: costume militaire grec; source: https://www.pinterest.com

Photo n° 07: le caftan grec; source: https//www.pinterest.com

Photo n° 08: caftan des Perses, 19-ieme siècle; source: www.metmuseum.org

Photo n° 09: caftan de Boabdil; Histoireislamique.wordpress.com

D'autres sources rapportent que «la forme de l'habillement donne aux Persans un très grand avantage sur les turcs, leurs ennemis, pour l'agilité des mouvements et promptitude des exercices militaires… au lieu des robes longues. Les manches de la veste sont larges; ainsi que les pantalons… pour assurer la liberté des jambes et des bras»[30]. Au sujet de l'habillement des femmes, en Perse aussi, la ressemblance est effective avec ceux des femmes turques. «Les femmes, comme les hommes, portaient une ceinture…; cette ceinture est généralement un shale de cachemire ou de caramanie…»[31]. L'Espagne, également, avait connu aussi cette tenue (caftan); mais sous une autre appellation *la marlota*, alors affirmée par Dozy dans son dictionnaire[32].

D'autres chercheurs, dont Rachel Arié, écrit: «au cours de la seconde moitié du 15ième siècle, un vocabulaire nouveau fit jour dans la terminologie vestimentaire hispano mauresque: *la marota*, fréquemment mentionnée dans les chroniques espagnoles et les textes historiques portugais et qui devait subsister dans la littérature maurophile du 16ième siècle espagnol. C'était une tenue féminine aussi que masculine»[33].

Du reste, le romancero nous présente une reine de Grenade «vêtue d'une marlota de brocard». Et pour M.R Ricard, il a consacré à la marlota un article très documenté et a tenté d'en délimiter l'usage; il s'agissait «d'un vêtement de dessus porté par les Chrétiens comme par les Musulmans. Vêtement de gala et de luxe, presque toujours de couleur vive, jaune, rouge, vert, bleu, la marlota se trouvant dans l'inventaire de la garde Robe du prince Don Juan Fils des rois catholiques en 1486»[34]. L'exemple le plus frappant à cet égard est celui de la tunique en velours écarlate à ornements dorés, ayant appartenu au dernier roi nasride Muhamed XI, le Boabdil, des sources castillanes, exposée de nos jours au musée de l'armée à Madrid[35].

En revenant de ce qui a été dit plus haut, le caftan était un vêtement mixte. Les anciens auteurs espagnols nous présentent souvent «les cavaliers et les dames maures qui portent les marlotas. Ils parlent d'une marlota de brocard, que portait le Roi de Grenade: d'une très riche marlota en velours vert et brodé d'or portée par un cavalier maure; et une marlota en taftas rouge; on sait que le mot marlota est encore en usage en Espagne»[36].

«Les vêtements mauresques étaient très mal acceptés par les autorités chrétiennes qui les considèrent comme un signe d'identité musulmane; cependant

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[30] Pioht Picault, p. 448.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Il s'agit d'un autre mot utilisé pour désigner le costume en question.
[33] Rarié, p. 117.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Dozy 1845, p 258.

les aristocrates les adoptent, Isabelle La Catholique n'en est pas le moindre exemple»[37].

Puis, les réfugiés espagnols, musulmans et juifs, chassés de la péninsule ibérique par la Reconquista, apportèrent avec eux au Maroc et en Algérie un nombre d'habitudes vestimentaires, assez variées[38]. Et, le caftan marocain en fait partie de ce patrimoine vestimentaire, d'origine ibérique.

A ma connaissance et de certains chercheurs, les Espagnols ont connu le caftan à travers les Omeyades et les Abbassides. Et surtout c'est «Zeriab», venant de l'Orient, qui l'a introduit dans l'Andalousie.

Puis après, le costume algérien s'est également enrichi à l'époque du khalifat ottoman: le costume turco persan et méditerranéen. Les Turcs sont restés presque trois siècles en Algérie: leur costume préféré était de caftan. Cette tenue était pour les hommes et les femmes. Et pour le décrire on va voir ce que Monnereau avait raconté. Dr Monnereau, comme A. Berbrugger, en 1870, dans son livre *Topographie et histoire générale d'Alger*: «Les turcs qui étaient en Algérie portent d'ordinaire un vêtement de couleur, qu'ils appellent *tafetan* (kaftan), qui ressemble à une soutane – prêtre ouverte par devant, ornée de boutons sur la poitrine. Ce vêtement, qui a des manches qui ne dépassent pas le coude, descend à mi jambe, quelque fois plus, mais passe toujours le genou. Les riches le portent en satin, damas, velours ou autre riche étoffe.

Ce vêtement, ainsi que le gilet, ne comportent pas le col. De sorte que le musulman a toujours le cou nu et découvert[39]pour suppléer à l'absence de manche au-dessous du coude, il se couvre les bras avec de fausses manches mobiles, faites en soie ou en velours Il porte sur le caftan une ceinture de fin tissu et de riche couleur. Il porte sur ce caftan une ceinture… supportant de très beaux poignards placés du côté gauche ainsi que les galiciens portent[40] l'épée.

Le nom de caftan comme l'affirme Mohammed Ben Cheneb dans son ouvrage (les mots turcs) et vient du persan «Khaftân»: cuirasse[41]. Ce vêtement est incontestablement aussi une importation de Turquie. Le caftan venant d'Orient à Alger comme habit masculin et féminin-devait être également adopté par le Maroc, ou les deux genres s'en servent[42]. Sans oublier bien sûr d'autres pays, ceux qui ont connu aussi cet habit, le «caftan» comme la Bulgarie, l'Albanie, la Serbie, les Mongols, l'Inde, à travers les Ottomans (1468-1912).

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[37] Cardaillac-Hermosilla 1995, p. 488.
[38] Aouf, 2004, p. 6.
[39] Haédo 1870, p. 42.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Bencheneb 2012, p. 68.
[42] Marçais, p. 98.

Photo n° 10: caftan indien, 19ième siècle; https//www.pinterest.com

Photo n°11: caftan indien, 20ième siècle; source: https//www.pinterest.com

CONCLUSION

L'origine du caftan est confirmée puisqu'il s'agit d'une tenue, venue de la Perse antique. Puis, il nous a été donné d'enregistrer que cette tenue vestimentaire remonte à l'époque des Grecs et de Byzance. Quelques temps plus tard, nous le retrouvons dans la péninsule ibérique: il était porté par les Maures andalous (Espagne musulmane).

L'histoire nous porte sur une période, de l'âge d'or, pour atteindre l'occupation ottomane en Afrique du Nord ou le Maghreb: plusieurs deys et beys, des gouverneurs ottomans le portaient. Le caftan était présent plus en Algérie et au Maroc que d'autres pays du grand Maghreb.

Il faut noter les civilisations qui avaient adopté le port de cette tenue vestimentaire communément appelée caftan. Il était porté par des dignitaires et des personnalités, de confession musulmane. Il faut noter, par ailleurs, deux périodes: les périodes pré-islamique et islamique.

Pour le cas de la ville de Tlemcen, la tenue traditionnelle, portée lors des mariages, connait depuis plusieurs siècles une grande importance d'ordre social, culturel et surtout anthropologique. D'ailleurs, le caftan est une tenue d'apparat et de

festivités, appartenant à des cérémonies festives, dans le cadre de la célébration d'un événement familial.

Bien qu'il soit une tenue traditionnelle festive et de cérémonies, le caftan présente quelques signes de représentations socio culturelles, lors des événements célébrés. Il est devenu, un signe de distinction sociale par rapport aux rangs de la société citadine de la ville de Tlemcen, une ville et un carrefour d'échanges socio culturels et commerciaux.

Bien lié à la culture de la société locale, le caftan nous renvoie à ces échanges entre la ville de Tlemcen et des capitales des autres pays tels que l'Asie, l'Afrique, l'Europe, etc. Quelques ethnies, d'origine berbère, ont bien conservé leurs habits traditionnels, mais le caftan a sa place dans la culture de la société berbère. Le costume est en général indissociable des pratiques sociales et culturelles et des conditions environnementales de la société à laquelle appartient le/la porteur(euse) du costume d'apparat ou autre[43].

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COMPUTER ANALYSIS OF A HERITAGE ITEM – THE TRADITIONAL SHEEPSKIN WAISTCOAT IN BEIUȘ AREA

TUDOR CACIORA, GRIGORE VASILE HERMAN, ȘTEFAN BAIAS

ABSTRACT

Cultural heritage management has always been a delicate issue for the contemporary society, given the frailty and need for authenticity of these remnants of the past. With the evolution of technology, new digital methods and techniques for the study of cultural heritage have started to materialise. This study aims to analyse a defining garment for the Pre-Modern Romanian society, respectively a traditional sheepskin waistcoat by using digital methods. The working methodology is based entirely on the processing of the images obtained, after the detailed shooting of the item, within dedicated software, following some predefined steps in order to obtain the results. Thus, a 3D model was achieved using the method of photogrammetry, Reflectance Transformation Imaging (RTI) models and digital copies of traditional motifs making use of the vectorization method. The analyses were selected so as to provide a complete image with information on the state of conservation and the restoration possibilities that would contribute to the valorisation and promotion of the sheepskin waistcoat. The results obtained certify the great suitability of this methodology, in particular, and of digital techniques, in general, in order to make use of them on the items of traditional mobile heritage, including garments.

Keywords: sheepskin waistcoat, *cojoc*, computer analysis, Reflectance Transformation Imaging, 3D modelling, vectorization.

INTRODUCTION

Cultural heritage, through the multitude of material and immaterial components it incorporates, the abundance of typologies, dynamism in time and variability in space (Lizama Salvatore and Lizama, 2018) are defining elements that reflect the identity of a community, expressed through beliefs, feelings, habits, traditions, cultural and spiritual values (Vecco, 2010). It has originated and evolved over time from human interaction with nature and environment (Filip et al., 2015), being passed down from generation to generation. In this context, now more than

ever, considering urbanization, excessive globalization and geopolitical conflicts (Borissova, 2018; Bleibleh & Awad, 2020), our duty as responsible custodian is to pass on (one way or the other) the legacies of the past, making them known to future generations. In order to achieve this goal, a vital importance is assigned both to the evaluation, restoration and conservation of the cultural heritage elements, as well as to their promotion and accessibility (Ognjanović et al., 2019).

The rapid development of technology that characterizes the 21st century has opened up new horizons for the study of cultural heritage, while making it much more accessible and efficient for the general public (Piccialli and Chianese, 2016). Digital technologies, methods and techniques are now the most widely used tools for documenting, evaluating, describing, preserving and promoting cultural heritage, due to the fact that they fulfil a dual purpose, helping to preserve the existing element and to improve it (Talamo et al., 2020). Thus, by implementing these technologies, it aims at ensuring the transmission of cultural values over time by storing the appearance and related information (Dong et al., 2020; Ilieş et al., 2019). Essential aspects taking into account the fact that most of the elements that make up the cultural heritage are very prone to natural or anthropogenic deterioration (Oneţ et al., 2020). Unlike real models, digital representations are not damaged by the passage of time or the action of external and internal factors, representing long-lasting replicas of the original item (Barazzetti et al., 2011).

In this context, this study aims to analyse a traditional Romanian sheepskin waistcoat (*cojoc*) originating in Beiuş Area, by means of a completely digital methodology focused on the three essential pillars, each of them consisting of modern analysis techniques and methods.

The techniques and methods chosen for the analysis of the sheepskin waistcoat were as follows: 3D scanning by photogrammetry method in order to achieve a surrogate 3D model for virtual conservation and promotion, Reflectance Transformation Imaging (RTI) for assessing the current state of conservation and the vectorization method of traditional motifs, useful for conservation-promotion. The photogrammetry method allows the creation of metrical and calibrated 3D models (Remondino, 2011; Barsanti et al., 2014) by interpolation and dense matching of 2D photos in a single reference space via dedicated software (Agosto et al., 2020). RTI is an imaging technique that uses lighting from multiple angles to generate advanced information on the topography of the analysed items (Malzbender et al. 2000; Manfredi et al., 2014), thus, giving the user the possibility to interactively control the light and modify the reflection properties, for an increased perception of the characteristics and fine details of surfaces (Giachetti et al., 2018; McGuigan and Christmas, 2019). The vectorization of traditional ornaments and motifs is an operation that involves building up data and digital replicas based on images (Kumar and Sathya, 2015), dot-line data and features related to shape and colour being stored.

THE STUDY OBJECT

The item considered for performing the digital analyses is represented by an approximately 80-year-old traditional sheepskin waistcoat, originating in Beiuş Area, Bihor county, Romania (Fig. 1). Although originally this type of garment was typical for the Hungarian folk costume, being common in Hungarian villages around Beiuş (worn by both men and women), starting with the 20th century, it began making its way also in the traditional Romanian folk costume, being taken in only by women and especially in the villages located on Valea Roşie.

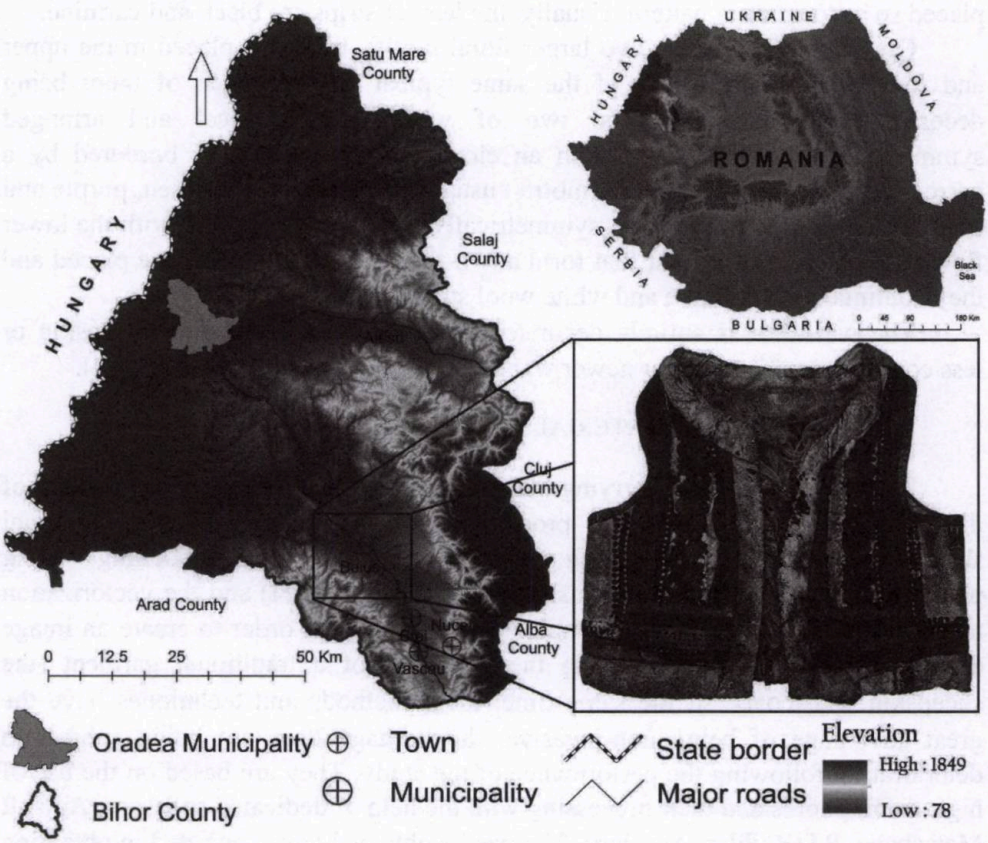

Fig. 1. The geographical location of the area of origin of the traditional vest

Its advantages consist in the fact that this was a sheepskin waistcoat that was easier to make, less complicated and cheaper than the traditional one in the area, so it was more easily accessible for all social classes. Compared to the Romanian sheepskin waistcoats that are strongly individualised according to gender, by means of specific ornaments, motifs and symbols, this sheepskin waistcoat presents

no differentiation. The piece of clothing dedicated to men differs from the one for women only in terms of length, the ornaments being identical; in rare cases, the differentiation is made by the presence of metal buttons on the men's waistcoat.

The sheepskin waistcoat is decorated with stitching made of coloured wool with exclusively floral motifs. In front are two vertical ornamental fields consisting of flowers in red, pink, dark pink, purple, green in two shades and sometimes blue. The front ornaments are framed on both sides by two pairs of black and carmine narrow leather strips, while underneath, oriented transversely, there are three or more rows of leather stamped with different motifs consisting of small holes neatly placed so as to create a pattern. Usually, the leather strips are black and carmine.

On the back are sewn two larger floral motifs, centrally placed in the upper and lower part, making use of the same typical colours, each of them being decorated with three flowers, two of which are identical and arranged symmetrically. They are placed in an elongated trapezoid field bordered by a narrow edge (consisting of floral motifs) usually coloured in red, green, purple and blue. On either side of the edge, symmetrically and on the same line with the lower flower, two pieces of leather that form a two-tone triangular pattern are placed and they continue with carmine and white wool strands of the same material.

The waistcoat is entirely decorated with black curly and fine sheepskin or less common and specific for newer waistcoats is the presence of karak wool.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The methodology for carrying out this study is based on a complex system of digital methods, techniques and procedures for the analysis of the traditional sheepskin waistcoat originating in Beiuş Area. 3D modelling using photogrammetry, Reflectance Transformation Imaging (RTI) and the vectorization technique of traditional motifs complement each other in order to create an image as complex as possible regarding the condition of a traditional garment (the sheepskin waistcoat). At the same time, these methods and techniques have the great advantage of being non-invasive, the heritage item not being subject to deterioration following the performance of the study. They are based on the use of high-detail photos and their processing with the help of dedicated software (Agisoft Metashape, RTIBuilder, ArcMap). The results obtained have consisted in obtaining digital models specific to the evaluation (RTI model), conservation (RTI model, 3D model, digital model) and promotion (RTI model, 3D model, digital model) (Fig. 2).

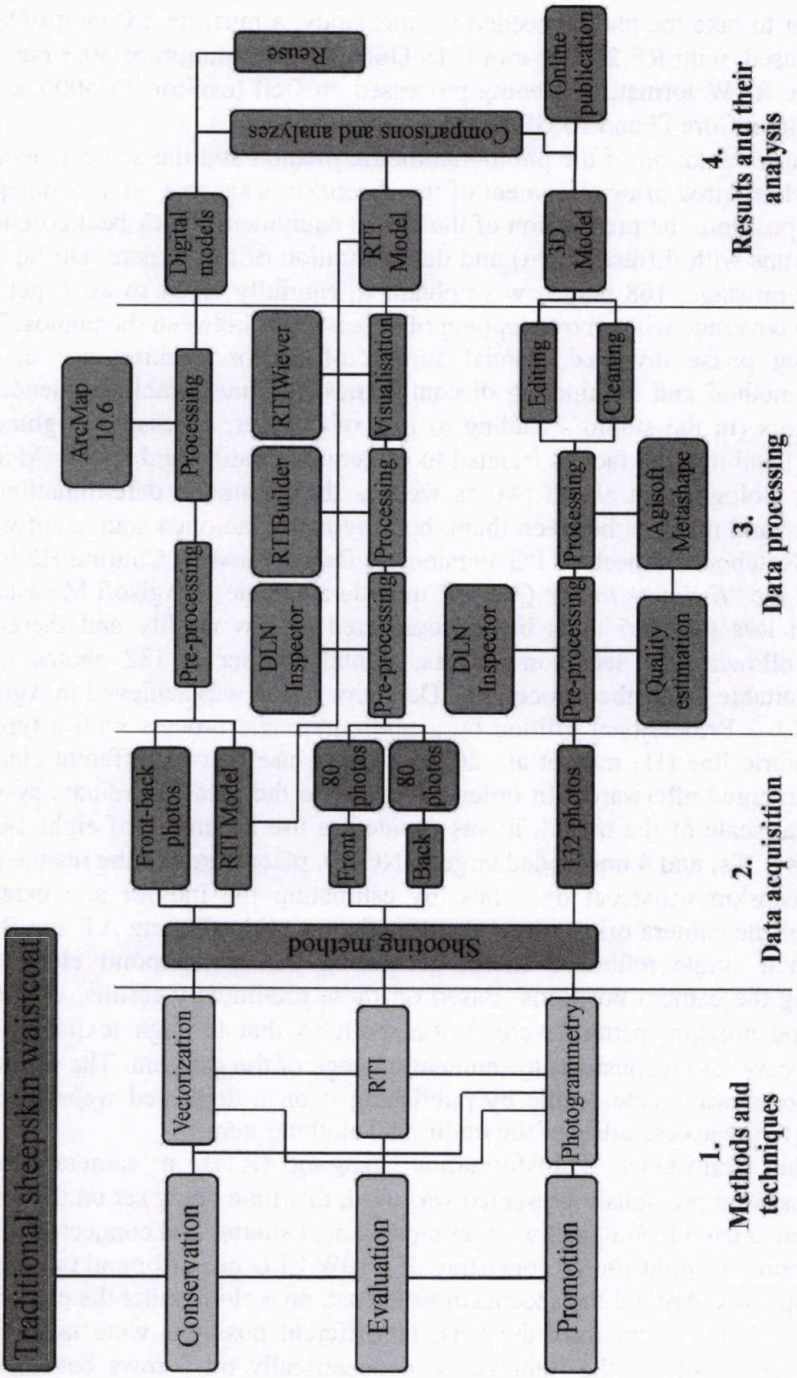

Fig. 2. Methodology for implementing digital techniques, procedures and methods, data processing and obtaining final results

In order to take the photos needed for this study, a mirrorless Canon EOS R camera was used, with RF 24-105 mm L IS USM lens, resolution of 30.3 mp and up to 8 fps in RAW format, data being processed on Dell Inspiron 15 5000 series laptop, with Intel Core I7 and 16 GB RAM.

The implementation of the photogrammetric method and the achievement of the 3D model required prior placement of the sheepskin waistcoat on a mannequin in a vertical position, the preparation of the studio equipment (black background + system of lamps with diffused light) and the calibration of the camera. During the data acquisition stage, 168 photos were obtained, carefully taken so as to get the best possible coverage with an overlapping of at least 70% between the photos. The pre-processing phase involved manual sorting of photos, making use of the observation method and eliminating discontinuities, the undesirable influence of external factors (in the studio - leading to loss of contour, excessive brightness, shading, etc.) and internal factors (related to camera calibration and setup) (Menna et al., 2016; Bolognesi et al., 2014), as well as the automatic determination of image quality and matches between them, both by using the open source software Digital Lab Notebook Inspector - PG Version 1.0 Beta created by Cultural Heritage Imaging and the "*Estimate Image Quality*" module available in Agisoft Metashape (photos with less than 0.5 units being considered of low quality and therefore removed). Following the selection process, a total number of 132 photos were considered suitable for further processing. Data processing was achieved in Agifost Metashape 1.6.2 Professional Edition by a semi-automatic process with a typical photogrammetric line (Herman et al., 2020), making use of two different chunks which have merged afterwards. In order to determine the local coordinate system and the actual scale of the model, it was decided to use a number of eight 14-bit coded targets (CTs) and 4 non-coded targets (NCTs), placed around the mannequin with the sheepskin waistcoat on. Thus, by estimating the interior and exterior parameters of the camera orientation, the photos were aligned using AT and BBA processes in a single reference space, generating the sparse point cloud and reconstituting the camera positions. Based on these preliminary results, the point cloud and the polygon pattern were further built so that through texturing and blending processes to reconstruct the authentic image of the garment. The resulting surrogate model was made public by publishing it on a dedicated website, thus contributing to the accessibility of the traditional clothing item.

For the Reflectance Transformation Imaging (RTI), a camera whose specifications were previously presented was used, this time being set on the lower part of a camera tripod, equipped with an independent shutter and connected to the laptop, a continuous light source consisting of a 10W LED projector and two bright red 24 mm spheres. Around the sheepskin waistcoat, on a cloth under the camera at a distance of about 85 cm from the lens, 16 different positions were taken in a circle; for these positions the light varied concentrically on 5 rows between an angle ranging 15° to 65° (15, 30, 45, 55 and 65) formed by a line perpendicular to a

horizontal plane represented by the surface of the waistcoat (Giachetti et al., 2018), at a constant distance equivalent to twice the length of the item analysed. Thus, two series consisting of 80 photos in RAW format (one for the front and one for the back of the waistcoat) were taken from the same spot, only the light varying on the 16 positions and 5 rows.

The photos were pre-processed and processed and the results were viewed using three open source software systems created and developed by Cultural Heritage Imaging, i.e. Digital Lab Notebook Inspector - RTI Version 1.0 Beta – software dedicated to pre-processing, RTIBuilder Version 2.0.2 – software dedicated to photo processing and obtaining the final model; RTIWiever Version 1.1 – software dedicated to interactive viewing of results. Pre-processing consisted of analysing the quality of images and metadata, as well as errors which have occurred between them using three tests (file test, capture test and transformation test); non-compliant data has been corrected or replaced, as appropriate. Data processing in RTIBuilder is a semi-automatic process, where after manually entering the exact positions of the bright spheres in a single photo, the software determines the incidence of light in each photo based on its specular reflection on the bright surface of the spheres. Usually, the position of the light source is automatically detected if the data acquisition is done properly, but some frames require user's interventions to define the position of the light beam at the level of the sphere. After the reconstruction of the scene and the generation of the final model, it was subject to analysis by interactive and comparative viewing in RTIWiever to determine the degraded areas which are difficult to detect with the naked eye.

In order to preserve and promote the traditional geometric and phytomorphic motifs on the sheepskin waistcoat, the technique of digital vectorization was chosen in the program ArcMap 10.6 (Ilieş et al., 2019). Both the original photos and the RTI model were used to achieve this target (for increased quality and interactive viewing, especially where the model had damage or areas with low visibility). The results are exported both as images and 3D models compatible with most interactive viewing programs.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

3D model of the sheepskin waistcoat

Automatic alignment of photos in a single reference space, using "*Structure from Motion*" (SfM) algorithm, aims to create the sparse point cloud (Fig. 3a) and reconstruct the positions of the camera when taking photos. Due to the careful data acquisition and its pre-processing, the results of the first phase in the process of creating the 3D model of the sheepskin waistcoat were appropriate; all the entered data being interpolated, the model did not show any gap or missing sections and the match between the image pairs is correct. Therefore, 174.212 raw points were created, a very large number taking into account the size and the material from

which the item in question is made. In this phase, the user's interventions consisted of eliminating the points outside the area of interest and resizing it. This was a time-consuming process due to the large volume of data, its high quality and the fact that we have worked with high precision settings so that the software could align the photos to their original size.

Based on the estimation of the camera positions and on the sparse point cloud previously created, we have proceeded to the automatic calculation of the depth information for each position and to the generation of the dense point cloud (Fig. 3b) by using a multiview point stereo algorithm. To obtain a higher quality model, as well as a detailed and high-precision geometry that favours interactive viewing, the *Ultra High* interpolation option was used, a setting that involves processing images at an original quality. Thus, the creation of the dense point cloud involved a longer processing time, but also a better quality, generating over 34 million of distinct points. In this phase, a new user's intervention was required to adjust the model and remove the unwanted points.

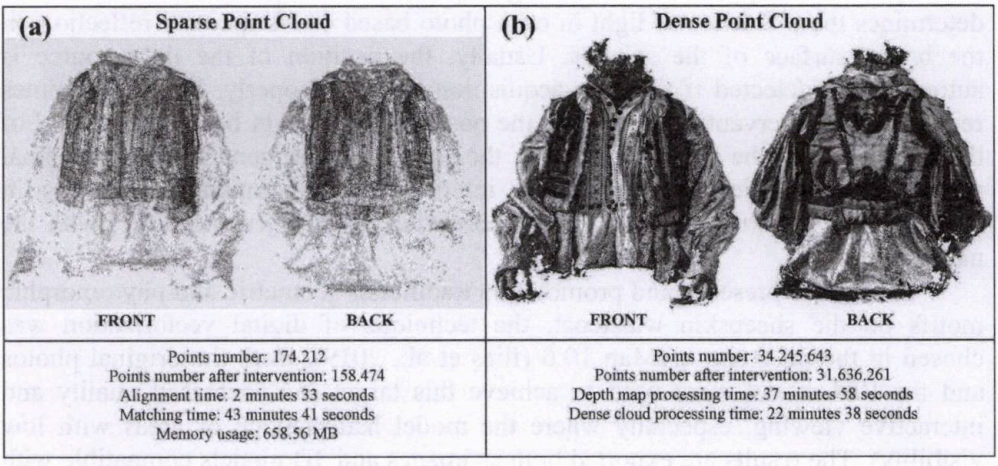

Fig. 3. (a) – Results obtained after the data alignment process and creation of the sparse point cloud; (b) – Results obtained after the creation process of the dense point cloud

Creating a solid model involves arranging a continuous surface, free of colour or texture, over the dense point cloud, while preserving its original coordinates (Menna et al., 2016) (Fig. 4a). The reconstruction of the net was made based on the dense point cloud, thus generating over a million faces and over half a million vertices, the quality of the model being superior. Editing it is mostly manual, to close any gaps, repair incorrect faces, remove light sources, smoothening processes, eliminate excess etc.

The process of texturing and creating the final model involves transposing a 2D graphic model (based on the information related to the colour in the acquired images) to the solid model already created (Fig. 4b). In this phase, we have

removed or remedied, where applicable, the sections that present discontinuities in terms of colour projection, occlusions, surfaces with non-homogeneous texture, non-chromatically balanced surfaces, which leads to an inaccurate appearance of the final model.

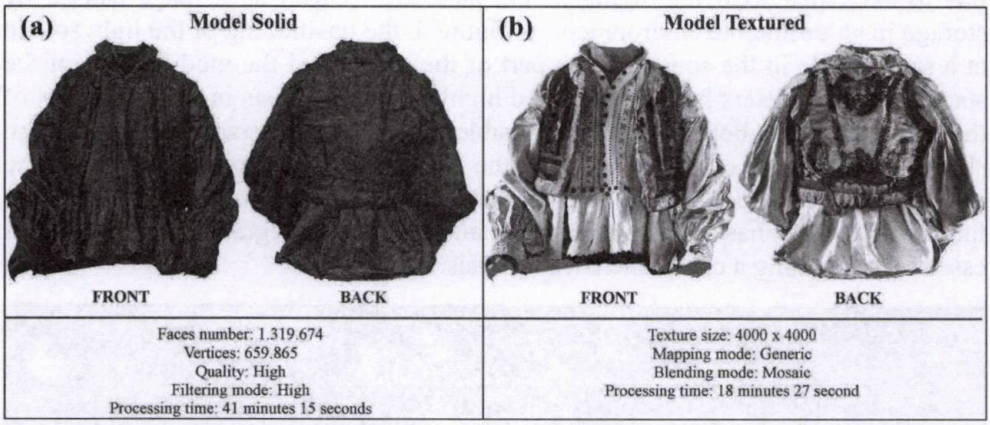

Fig. 4. (a) – Mesh model without texture; (b) – Final model with detailed texture

In order to make this element related to the cultural heritage of Bihor County as attractive and accessible to the general public as possible, the 3D model thus created was posted on a website dedicated to the publication of such models. It can be found and viewed interactively[1]. The platform allows an advanced inspection of the 3D model, changing settings, materials, colours, geometry, as well as virtual reality viewing, thus offering those interested a complete educational experience.

Reflectance Transformation Imaging model

The results obtained from the implementation of the RTI method represent a preliminary assessment to establish a diagnosis regarding the state of conservation of the sheepskin waistcoat and the opportunities for restoration. Changing the angles of incidence of light and separating the colour from the texture favour the intensification of the information volume transmitted regarding the fabric and the composition of the material, thus emphasizing the damaged surfaces. This method of visualization and identification of degradations is clearly superior to the classic one (with the naked eye), which depends on the incidence of light at the time and this can lead to not noticing fine defects.

Following the performance of the two RTI models (one for the front and one for the back of the waistcoat), a complete analysis was considered to determine visible damage (chromatic and micromorphological variations, weight loss, aesthetic appearance, natural or anthropogenic degradation etc.). These procedures

[1] https://sketchfab.com/3d-models/cojoc-beius-be7c960d58c4415e911cd7d4c2f8b8da.

have targeted analyses at both macroscale (the entire waistcoat) as well as mesoscale (centimetric degradations) and microscale (millimetric degradations).

The analysis of the results indicates an inadequate state of conservation of the item, which has many anthropogenic and naturally damaged areas, traces of wear due to excessive wear and aging of the material, as well as damage caused by storage in an unsuitable environment. In figure 5, the positioning of the light source at a small angle in the south-eastern part of the model and the modification of the specularity parameters have emphasized highly degraded areas in the lower part of the waistcoat, these being much more visible by means of interactive interpretation (Fig. 5b) than in the default mode with the light source at its zenith (Fig. 5a). The creation of false-colour rendering in normal visualization mode (Fig. 5c) has facilitated the emphasis of the orientation and contour of degraded areas, which is essential in creating a comprehensive analysis.

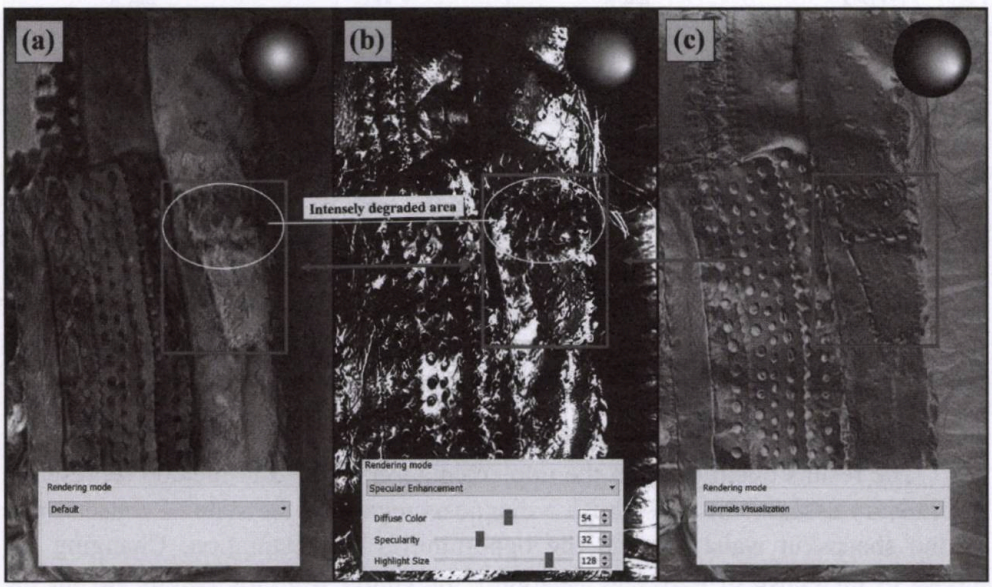

Fig. 5. Representation of differences obtained from the analysis of degraded surfaces of the sheepskin waistcoat in several interactive visualization modes; (a) – Visualization in default mode with light source at its zenith; (b) – Visualization with the help of the spatial variability of light and the modification of the specularity parameters; (c) – Visualization with the help of the spatial variability of light in normal visualization mode

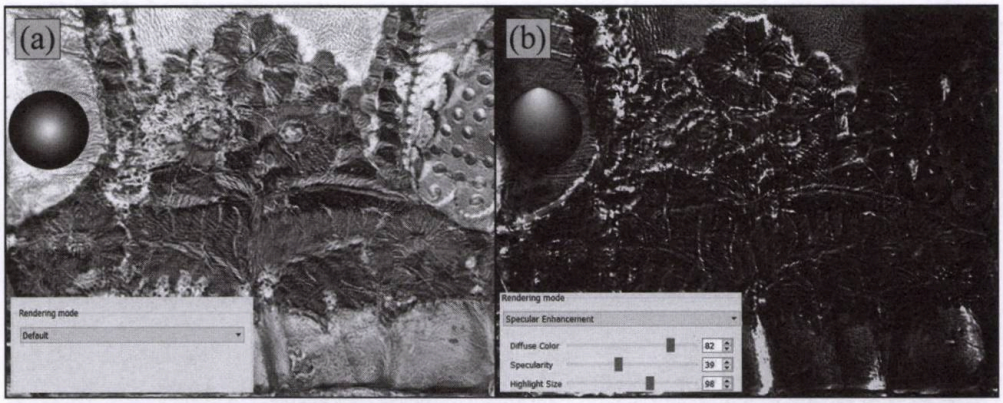

Fig. 6. Interactive visualization of the traditional motifs in order to increase the perception on the degree of conservation and how to achieve them; (a) – Visualization in default mode with light source at its zenith; (b) - Visualization with the help of the spatial variability of light and the modification of the specularity parameters

RTI models, through the possibility of interactive visualization, offer the possibility to evaluate the state of conservation and the physical properties of the traditional motifs that adorn the item of clothing (Frey and Heller, 2008). Thus, most of the reasons show both coarse damage (ruptures, missing parts, scratches, gaps) and some finer damage, quite difficult to perceive with the naked eye (Payne, 2013). At the same time, this technique, through the shading and texturing effects it creates, has been used to emphasize some details related to the technique of making traditional motifs, shape, fabric, material, contour. These features are much more visible in an approach that implies a *Specular Enhancement* visualization mode (Fig. 6b) than in *Default* mode (Fig. 6a). The information thus obtained was used to create digital replicas of traditional models on the sheepskin waistcoat using the vectorization method.

Vectorization of traditional motifs

Traditional motifs, through their great variety, deep meanings and the way they are made, represent a synergy between art and history, being an integral part of the Romanian cultural heritage. The vectorization of traditional motifs plays a key role both in terms of their preservation, accessibility and promotion, by creating digital databases. The method of digitalisation of traditional motifs on the sheepskin waistcoat involved the use of both high-detail photos of the original motifs and patterns, as well as Reflectance Transformation Imaging models. Therefore, the digital motifs created (Fig. 7), in addition to the fact that they faithfully reproduce the appearance and significance of the original ones, have the advantage that they offer the possibility to perform analyses, colour change, restructuring, combination of several models, resizing etc.

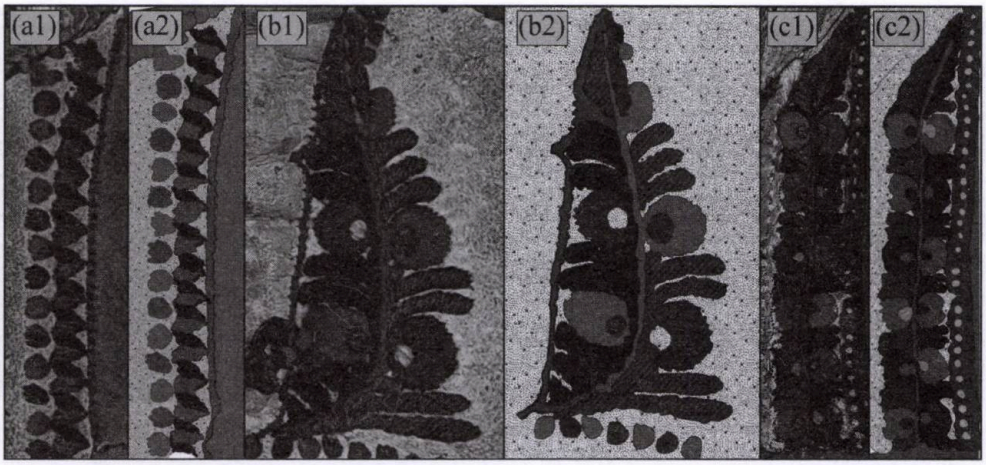

Fig. 7. Vectorization of traditional motifs on the sheepskin waistcoat (a1, b1, c1 – original motifs; a2, b2, c2 – digital replicas made based on the original motifs)

Given that Romanian traditional motifs are increasingly a source of inspiration when making modern garments, databases with digital models obtained by vectorization represent an easy alternative to these approaches. In order to facilitate the access of stakeholders, the results obtained by digitalisation can be published online, in various formats, including 2D and 3D, from where they can be accessed and capitalized, etc.

CONCLUSIONS

The analysed sheepskin waistcoat originating in Beiuş area was one of the identity-iconic garments for the local Romanian communities, nowadays being an element of national and even worldwide mobile cultural heritage.

As an exponent of Romanian traditional culture, the sheepskin waistcoat is a silent witness which has the ability to evoke various aspects of the daily life of those who made it. The analysis of the material from which it was made, the techniques used, traditional motifs, colours and meanings reveals the existence of a magical universe specific to Bihor and every single person. All these defining features for the analysed sheepskin waistcoat have led to the need to identify and apply new non-invasive methods and techniques. The results obtained (RTI model, 3D model, digital model) are intended to transpose in digital format, easily accessible to stakeholders, valuable information related to the shape, structure, colour, motifs used etc., in order to capitalize them in the fashion industry, cinema, tourism etc.

The digital methods and techniques used represent indispensable cognitive procedures for the study of a heritage item, namely the traditional sheepskin

waistcoat originating in Beiuș area. Through the compatibility and interdependence of these digital imaging methods and techniques, it contributes to the outlining of a complete image on the state of conservation, while participating in the information dissemination, through promotion and accessibility. The results obtained represent multilateral information, in addition to simple graphic and photographic databases, in which the vast majority of the cultural heritage elements are transposed. Compiling data while using computer software systems (Agisoft Metashape, RTIBuilder and Viewer, ArcMap) has minimized direct contact with the item, restricting the possibilities of deterioration.[2]

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A SET OF LECTURES DELIVERED BY PROFESSOR MIHAI POP IN 1972: A REREADING HALF A CENTURY LATER

NICOLAE CONSTANTINESCU

ABSTRACT

The paper is a late reading of the notes taken by the author, as a young assistant of Professor Mihai Pop at one of his elective courses during the academic year 1972/1973, consecrated to the forms of epic, narrative discours. After the translation of V.I. Propp's seminal work, *Morphology of folk-tale* (1928) in English (1956) and in Romanian (1970), the study of folk-narrative extended world-wide and the narratology studies dominated the area of folk-research. The well documented lectures of Mihai Pop introduced the young fellows in folklore studies to the main theories and theorists in this field, scientific schools, directions, etc.

Keywords: folk narratives, fairy-tales, structure, motif, episode, function.

In my notebooks dating from the years of my academic education one can find the notes I took down during the folklore elective courses held by Professor Mihai Pop, which I attended during the fourth(two semesters, 1962/1963) and fifth (one semester, 1963/64) academic years, then I continued to attend in my new capacity as an assistant professor for many more years. I have selected one of the seven lectures of which the Narratology course was comprised. The course was taught to the fourth year students, during the first semester of the academic year 1972/73. The notes I still have were taken on the following dates: 25.X.1972 (1), 8.XI. (2), 15.XI. (3), 29.XI. (4), 6.XII. (5), 10.I.1973 (6) and 17.I. (7).

I must confess I am amused to point out now that the Professor conscientiously delivered his lecture on November the 8th, the day consacreted to the Archangels Michael and Gabriel, which I have no idea if he celebrated or not, and if he did, how exactly he celebrated it. However, it must have been an important celebration for his family, for one of his sons was also named in honor of the Archangel Michael and later on, he, in his turn, named one of his sons Michael as well.

I must also emphasize that I was equally conscientious, so I attended the lecture on December the 6th, my patron saint's day – Saint Nicholas – but we, the students (there were many of us who had this name), could not even dream of any celebration besides having our ears pulled and receiving some whispered traditional wishes as the Christian celebrations were forbidden at the time and strictly banned in the public space.

I was an assistant professor and I had received a PhD title in 1971 but I still embraced an old academic tradition according to which the assistant professors continued to attend the Professor's lectures long after becoming members of the teaching profession as well. I was deeply moved when, in 1963, I noticed that G. Călinescu, returning to the University to deliver an elective course, was accompanied by several researchers from the Institute of Literature, Mihai Novicov among them. If my memory serves me right, George Ivaşcu, Chair of the Literature Department, was one of them.

It was Mihai Pop's second lecture on the "relationship between narrative and the elements making it up (motif, episode, etc.)". In the lecture he had delivered on October 25, 1972 he had already offered an overview of E. Frenzel's opinions (*Stoff, Motiv, Symbol*)[1]. Frenzel looked upon the motif as "one of the elements of the *fabula*", an idea which he had taken over from Max Lüthi, who considered the motif to be "the smallest element of a story which comprises an item of information"[2]. Frenzel operated a distinction between "framework motifs" and "decorative motifs", the latter pertaining to the style.

The Russian researcher A. Veselovski[3] explored the "genesis of motifs" and their "relationship" with myths from a comparatist perspective in his work entitled *Historical Poetics* (1940, the 2nd edition, Foreword by Viktor Jirmunski), highlighting only the similarities, identifying "relationships" and "causes". He noticed a "connection" between certain topics and the circulation of ideas and he raised the question why "certain topics keep resurfacing in literature". A.N. Veselovski[4] regarded the motif as "the simplest part of a narrative", the folktale being "a complex set of motifs". He raised such issues as: "adjusting the motifs to the themes", "the motifs circulation", "the contamination", "the subject-matter = the outcome of a creative act with the participation of the motifs".

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[1] Frenzel 1969 (the notes are mine, N.C.).

[2] Max Lüthi (1900-1991), Swiss scholar, Professor of European Literature of the People. Works: *Das europäische Volksmärchen,* 1947; *Es war einmal: Vom Wesen des Volksmärchens,* 1962.

[3] Alexandr Nikolaevici Veselovski (1838-1906), Russian philologist, historian and folklorist, member of the Academy, University of Petersburg Professor, comparatist; fundamental works: *Poetica subiectelor* (The Subject-Matter Poetics), 1897-1906, *Trei capitole din poetica istorică* (Three Chapters in the Historical Poetics), 1899; cf. *Note despre autorii antologaţi* (Notes on the Anthologized Authors), in Nasta–Alexandrescu 1972: 631-632. See the above mentioned volume, A. Veselovski, *Introducere în poetica subiectelor şi problematica ei* (An Introduction to the Subject-Matter Poetics and Its Problems), pp. 441-450.

[4] In my notes, V.V. Veselovski.

In *Les Fabliaux* Joseph Bédier[5] underlined the fact that the motifs are "constants", unlike the fairy-tales, which are "variables".

More attention was devoted to the Hungrian researcher Honti Janos, and several references were made to his work (the title of which I did not manage to write down)[6] in the following lecture, on November 8, 1972.

The Professor mentioned the Finnish School at the beginning of his lecture, pointing out a number of general facts concerning "the comparatist methood", "the genesis of the nations", theories of "the origins of the folktale", "the increase in the amount of materials", "the necessity for systematizing", "the tipologies". He emphasized St[ith] Thompson's contribution[7] who defined the motif as "the smallest element which can endure throughout a tradition", spoke about "characters" – referring to Propp[8] and Greimas[9] – and "objects and representations" which could make up the mythological world, dropped a few hints concerning "some isolated events" which were not "clichés, but traditional occurrences" (we should further investigate which particular studies he has in mind).

This is where he diverged from the subject and mentioned A(lbert) B. Lord[10] şi Milman Parry[11] and their theory about "clichés" and the traditional epithet in Homer's work. The researcher he mentioned next was Arthur Christiansen, the

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[5] Joseph Bédier (1864-1938), French philologist, the author of a number of fundamental works, out of which we can mention: *Les Fabliaux* (1893) and *Légendes epiques. Recherches sur la formation des chansons de geste* (1908-1913).

[6] János Honti (1910-1945), Hungarian Folklorist, *Studies in Oral Epic Tradition.* Folklorist, folktale researcher, literary historia, polyglot, German and English teacher, librarian. The first work he published (at the age of 18, in German) was *The Hungarian Folktale Typology*, for the international folktales catalog. Within the short span of his life he published approximately 100 articles in different languages, two monographs in German and three in Hungarian. His main work in Hungarian dates from 1937 and is entitled, "Mese világa" that is, *The world of the Fairytale*, "An Introduction to the Philosophy of the Fairytale".

[7] Stith Thompson (1885-1976), American folklorist, Professor of Folklore at Indiana University. He updated and translated into English Antti Aarne' catalog, *Verzeichnis der Marchentypen* (1910), which later became *The Types of the Folktale*, 1928, edition revised in 1961, currently known as Aarne-Thompson (ATh) Index. Relevant to the subject-matter of this course: *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature. A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folktales, Ballads, Myths, Fables, Medieval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Legends, Jest-Books and Local Legends*, 6 volumes, 1955-1958.

[8] V.I. Propp, *The Morphology of the Fairytale* (1928); Romanian version, 1970.

[9] Algirdas Julien Greimas (1917-1992), linguist of Lithuanian origine, settled in Paris, outstanding representative of structural linguistics (*Sémantique structurale*, 1966); he attended the proceedings of the International Centre for Semiotics in Urbino, Italy; semiotics studies in the volume: *Du Sens*, the 2nd edition, Paris, 1972), cf. *Notes on the Anthologized Authors*, in Nasta–Alexandrescu 1972: 614.

[10] Albert B. Lord (1912-1991), Professor of Slavic and comparative literature at Harvard University; he continued the research into the field of popular epic creation of the South-European peoples and the Homeric epics initiated by Milman Parry. His most representative work: *The Singer of Tales*, Harvard University Press, 1960.

[11] Milman Parry (1902-1925), American Professor who laid the foundations of the theory of the oral character of the Homeric creations. See *The Making of Homeric Verse* (posthumous), edited by Adam Parry, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1971.

author of the study entitled *Motif et théme*[12], who regarded the motifs as "closed structures, completed episodes".

R. Petsch, in *Essence and Form in the Art of Storytelling* (1942), considered the motifs from the point-of-view of their position in the context of the narrative; thus, he identified "central motifs", "framework motifs" and "supplementary motifs" underlying "the outline of the narrative structure".

He returned to the discussion on Honti Ianos whose perspective was "close to Jolles's"[13] who was of the opinion that "the central, fundamental motifs could lie at the foundation of a certain typology as they are inspired from the biological and family relations ones".

"Some sort of family-trees: a prototype and the descendants". A "genetic" point-of-view. However, the more recent research departs from the genetic study. For instance, V. Jirmunski[14], one of Veselovski's disciples and Meletinski's mentor, in his work *A Comparatist View on the Epic Genre*, proposed a type of historical-typological research, from a polygenetic perspective, being related to psychoanalysis, hence the absence of historicism: "A comparison drawn between several versions – a typological scheme – models".

Mrs. Greverus (this is what he said, so I took it down accordingly!) delivered a paper on "the typology of legends"[15] at the ISFNR (The International Society for the Folklore Narrative Research) Congress in Athens, entitled "The Relationship between the Subject> Motif> the Secondary Elements", where the symbol means "more than". "The main topic is actuated by means of subjects, these being nothing but realizations of an idea".

The next author he discussed was Axel Olrik (1908), whose paper, entitled *The Laws of the Folk Epic Genre* is subsumed to the field of "interdisciplinary research". [Axel Olrik] noticed the "existence of a number of regularities in the construction of the folk epic genre, of some recurrent elements which can be organized according to some laws".

It is a type of "nomothetic research (therefore, based on laws, just as logic and linguistics)". "He rejected the division into categories (folktale, legend, witty

[12] Christiansen 1925.

[13] André Jolles, *Einfache Formen* [1929]; the French version: *Formes simples*, traduit de l'allemand par Antoine Marie Buguet, Editions du Seuil, 1972; translated into Romanian much later (Jolles 2012).

[14] Viktor Maksimovici Jirmunski (1891-1971), literary historian and theoretician, folklorist, academician, a Leningrad University Professor. A disciple of A.N. Veselovski. Main interests: the comparatist analysis of the literary work. Fundamental studies: *Compoziţia poeziilor lirice* (The Lyrical Poems Composition) (1921), *Rima. Istoria şi teoria rimei* (The Rhyme: Its History and Theory) (1923) – a photocopy of which the Professor brought to me from the Soviet Union while I was writing my own PhD thesis (Constantinescu 1973). Together with Mihai Pop Jr., the Professor's son, I tried to translate the book, but the editor rejected our proposal, motivating that the work was "too special". After 1990, Mişco Pop died, the photocopy was still in his possession, and the project was abandoned.

[15] Greverus Marburg 1965.

story). (...) All of them are governed by certain laws, being based on a certain type of logic". He used the term "saga = narrative in general. Folklore, as a whole, has its own rules and governing principles". "*I. The law of the beginning and the end* – the exit from the mundane, the transition into the world of legend, the presence of some elements announcing the nucleus *II.* The law of repetition – things do not happen only once; they are heightened by means of repetition – each repetitive event has three parts; III. The law of the number three (occurring only in the European folktales; in the Indian folktales three is replaced by four); IV. The law of the scenic duality – each scene has minimally two characters (in the foreground, to be more precise); V. *The law of contrast*: human vs monster; young vs old. VI. *The law of the twins, of the pairs of characters* (occurring prevalently in myths); VII. *The law of oscillation* between stern and prow – the distinction between the mythological and the fantastic; the mythological hero is placed at the forefront of the story, in the first part; in folktales, the hero is placed at the end; VIII. Each character or (illegible) should be expressed through an action – unidimensional [illegible] keep going on, there are no reconsiderations (rules and their corrections, through dialogs and commentaries)".

A folktale cannot be likened to a painting, but to a bas-relief, even to an architectural construction, for it unfolds according to the law of symmetry and numbers. Folktales are schematic, the situations are not enlarged upon, but shown succintly with a view to foregrounding the narrative development[16].

These are the closing observations of the November 8th, 1972 lecture. On November 15th , 1972 he resumed his analysis of Axel Olrik's studies on the Saga, which were to be continued by Max Lüthi. Then, he discussed J.G. Hahn's *Studies on the Science of the Folktale* (1867)[17], the author being a forerunner of L. Şăineanu. He went on to offer an exposition of the contributions made by A. Nutt, Lord Raglan and Jan de Vries.

I did not attend the November 22 lecture (or it might not have been held). On November 29 he approached the topic of the Russian formalist school, on December 6 he lectured on The Prague School, on December 13 my notes say "absent" (I do not know if the word referred to my absence of the Professor's), on January 10 he broached the topic of prose analysis, while on January 17, 1973 he lectured on *The Morphology of the Folktale* (1928) by Vladimir Propp, which had been translated into Romanian in 1970.

As one can see, he offered a coherent, well-founded set of lectures, with a rich and well-organized informative content which exceeded, from many points-of-

[16] Cf. Axel Olrik (1864-1917), Danish researcher, the author of the study entitled *Episke Love i Folkedigtningem,* in „Danske Studier", 5, 1908, translated into German (1912) and into English as *Epic Laws of Folk Narrative*, in Dundes 1965: 129-141.

[17] Johann Georg von Hahn, *Sagwissenschaftliche Studien* (1876) (posthumous) (in my notes, 1867 – the date is wrong); *Epic Laws of Folk Narrative*, in *The Study of Folklore* – an in-depth presentation and comprehensive study in English, in Dundes 1965: 129-141.

view, the students' horizon of understanding at the time. We should analyze the elective course held during the 1972/73 academic year within the context of the Professor's interests dating from that period. The Fifth ISFNR (The International Society for the Folklore Narrative Research) Congress had taken place a few years before. In his capacity as the Head of the Organizing Committee, Mihai Pop had delivered the opening conference paper entitled *La poétique du conte populaire*, published afterwards in "Semiotica" II, 1970, pp. 117-127[18]. Some of the names and the ideas mentioned in this paper resurfaced in the lecture I am discussing now.

In 1972 Mihai Pop published the study entitled *Rolul educațional al culturii populare* (The Educational Role of the Popular Culture)[19], originally a paper delivered within the framework of the symposium organized by the Semiotics Laboratory of the University of Bucharest[20], marking the Professor's irreversible transition to the field of semiotics, or, as Gheorghe Deaconu observes, to that of anthropology: "The functional correlation between the grammatical code of different languages and the system of modeled categories underlies the eductional model of the oral culture enabling the personalities and social groups to create their own culture". It is through this conclusion that Mihai Pop enlarged the anthropological perspective on folklore understood as the culture of the illiterate social milieus[21]. In fact, the Professor's view was quite close to semiotics at the time.

The Professor had started to go on trips abroad quite frequently and had become a close acquaintance of the foremost researchers in the field of humanities – Greimas, Lévi-Strauss, Lotman – the first two insisting on appointing him the president of the International Society of Ethnology and Folklore during its first congress in Paris in 1971. He had received regular invitations to the Semiotics lectures in Urbino (Italy) so, he had enabled a large number of young Romanian researchers, members of the teaching staff, to attend these lectures as well. It was during that period, too, that he resumed his relationship with his acquaintances of

[18] Unfortunately, as is sometimes the case in our country, the conference proceedings prepared by the organizing committee were not published right after the event, nor later. It was only recently that „Revista de Etnografie şi Folclor / Journal of Ethnography and Folklore" started publishing a selection from the papers delivered within the framework of the 1969 ISFNR conference, under the heading "Restitutions", *Bucharest 1969: The 5th Congress of the International Society of Folk-Narrative Research" (Facsimile Papers)*, where Mihai Pop's paper, *La poétique du conte populaire*, was also published (REF/JEF, New Series, 1-2/2016: 197-213). I do not know the reason why the Professor's paper delivered within the 1969 ISFNR Conference held in Bucharest was not included in *Mihai Pop: Folclorul românesc* (Mihai Pop: Romanian Folklore) (the 1st and 2nd volumes, edited by Nicolae Constantinescu and Alexandru Dobre, the 3rd volume edited by Nicolae Constantinescu, Adrian Soicescu, Rodica Zane), although the text was published in „Semiotica", II, 1970. Moreover, the paper was listed in the Contents, vol. II, 1998: 349.

[19] In Stati 1972: 139-144; see also Pop 1972: 823-828, republished in Pop 1998: 248-255; also reprinted in Pop 2017: 121-127.

[20] The paper was published in *Le laboratoire de sémiotique de l'Université de Bucharest, Roumanie*, „Semiotica", Haga, Mouton, V (1972), no. 3: 301-302.

[21] Deaconu 2007: 85.

old people he had met when he was studying in Prague and Bratislava – Roman Jakobson, Piotr Bogatîrev and many others.

Unfortunately, Professor Pop did not leave any detailed autobiography (or, we have not been able to find it so far, although we approached the University of Bucharest and the Ethnography and Folklore Institute asking them to assist us in our endeavors. It was within the framework of these institutions that his career unfolded after World War II till the end of his life and they required at least one autobiography annually). The confessions Zoltan Rostas, for instance, managed to obtain do not abound in details, either[22].

His leanings towards semiotics are supported by some other notes I took during a lecture or a conference held by Mihai Pop on March 16, 1972, entitled "The Current Stage of Semiotic Research". I do not know exactly within which framework he delivered this speech. Therefore, we will have to resort to the archives once again[23].

Anyway, at that time, there was widespread interest in the ideas circulating in the scientific world in the West, for at least one corner of the iron curtain separating us from the "corrupt and reactionary West" had been lifted since August 1968. The *Univers* Publishing House had begun issuing the celebrated series of Romanian versions of the American and West European scientific essays. Among one of the first translations was *The Morphology of the Folktale* by V.I. Propp in 1970[24] which was done from the original version published in Leningrad in 1928. The second Russian edition was not published until 1969, when the Romanian version was forthcoming[25], long after the English version (1958; 1968 – the second edition) and the Italian version of the work (1966)[26].

It was during the same year that Claude Lévi–Strauss's study, *The Savage Mind* was published by The Scientific Publishing House with a Foreword by

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[22] "Then, in Bratislava I met again the Prague structural linguistics school students. Slovaks who had studied in Prague. [...] I had numerous, in fact, if I remember correctly, I had the most numerous scientific contacts in my field. There was one more thing. The semioticians enabled me to get access to the center in Urbino, Italy. This is how I managed to attend their summer schools for 12 years. The lectures were delivered by academics from all over the world. That was one of the places where I met so many people!", Mihai Pop, "The Folklore Archive....at the hey shed", in Rostas 2003: 332.

[23] The contribution of his granddaughter, Ruxandra Pop, a Phd candidate, might be very useful in this respect. She has laid the foundations of such an archive and manages the information which is being collected.

[24] Propp 1970.

[25] Cf. Radu Niculescu, *The Multiple Meanings of The Morphology of the Folktale*, an introductory study to Propp 1970: V; Radu Niculescu (1938-1987), one of Mihai Pop's disciples, a researcher within the framework of The Folklore Institute since 1960, attended the semiotics lectures in Urbino, and began to work on a PhD thesis under the guidance of A.J. Greimas, the semiotics specialist, at Sorbonne. Radu Niculescu's introductory study is marked by enduring originality and accuracy. I would suggest that it should be reprinted as a landmark of the reception of V.I. Propp's book in the context of the Romanian culture.

[26] Cf. idem: VI.

Mihai Pop (pp 5-14), probably the most intelligible and de-ideologized introduction to the principles of the Lévi-Strauss-ian structural anthropology. *The Sad Tropics* had been published in 1968 with a Foreword by Ion Vlăduțiu, a writer who had studied ethnography at Lomonosov University in Moscow, a fervent supporter of Marxism-Leninism: "Structuralism can neither supplant, nor replace the Marxist analysis of phenomena. The structuralist analysis cannot reach the dialectical depth of the evolution of contemporary phenomena seen from the perspective of the historical-dialectical materialism"[27].

It is obvious that while writing the Foreword to *The Savage Mind* Mihai Pop acquainted himself with the scientific work of the French scholar and the way it was received by the Western world where both positive reactions and sustained criticism had already been voiced from the left, as well as from the right.

It is equally obvious that the students attending the course during the 1972/73 academic year knew very little about all this and I recall – with embarrassment – how I felt when I was asked to talk about Claude Lévi-Strauss' work on totemism[28] during a teaching staff meeting of the Literary Theory and Folklore Department. It was in 1966, if I remember correctly, and the book had been published not long before.

My knowledge concerning this central cultural anthropolgy topic – totem, totemism – was quite limited. Unlike me, Mihai Pop, first of all, as well as George Macovescu[29], the Chair of the Department (and the Romanian Foreign Affairs Minister at the time) and Silvian Iosifescu, the professor in charge of the literary theory course, were well-acquainted with this topic as they had solid knowledge in the fields of sociology, philosophy, psychology, etc. acquired through their extensive reading before and after World War II.

The Professor handed the book to me and told me without further comments: "You are to deliver a presentation of this work in front of the teaching staff next week". I plodded through the 130-page book and I put together a pedestrian, uninspired presentation – which lasted 10 or 15 minutes at the most – in which I summed up, in fact I translated the most important chapters of the French anthropologist's book quite maladroitly, but to the best of my ability at the time (I had been a junior assistant lecturer since October 1964).

I hardly understood anything even from the first definition given by McLennan to totemism as "fetishism plus exogamy and matrilineal filiation". I became acquainted with these terms after attending the cultural anthropology lecture on the kinship relations as a Fulbright grantee at Portland State University, U.S.A., during the interval 1976-1978. Later on, after returning to

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[27] I. Vlăduțiu, *Introducere* (Foreword) to Levi-Strauss 1968: 9.

[28] Lévi-Strauss 1965.

[29] George Macovescu (1913-2002), writer and diplomat, a member of the Romanian Communist Party during its illegal phase, the Romanian ambassador in the USA, the Foreign Affairs Minister (1972-1981), president of the Writer's Union (1977-1981), professor, Chair of The Literary Theory Department of the Faculty of Philology (The Romanian Language and Literature)

Romania, I taught an elective course and I published a book on this topic afterwards[30].

It was impossible for me to grasp the author's theoretical position at the time, his polemical attitude towards his predecessors – some of them luminaries in the realm of ethnology and cultural and social anthropology, but with whom I was not acquainted – with the exception of Arnold Van Gennep. Nor was I able – as he might have expected me to – to appreciate the innovative character of his approach. The three professors overlooked my embarrassment, exchanged a few opinions with one another and my predicament was over.

The evocation of this moment is only meant to cast light upon another method the Professor used with his disciples: throwing them into the deep-end without a life jacket so that the neophyte had to struggle with all their might and main to reach the shore. When they finally made it to the shore, they were not welcomed with a soft towel, a cup of hot tea and a word of encouragement. The most they could hope for was a new target and a renewed challenge. Anyway, as far as I am concerned my contact with Lévi-Strauss' recently published book and the demands of the professors making up the old Literary Theory and Folklore Department was a beneficial lesson.

It was the epoch when the transition towards structuralism and semiotics was effected; during this period his foundational works – *Perspective în cercetarea poetică a folclorului* (Perspectives in the Poetic Study of Folklore)[31] and *Caracterul formalizat al creațiilor orale* (The Formalized Character of Oral Creations)[32] – stood out as landmarks in the Romanian folklore research, setting a new trend, enthusiastically embraced by the new generation of researchers in the field of folklore and ethnology who defined themselves as belonging to "Mihai Pop's school"[33].

In the following decades, thanks to his exceptional longevity and mental limpidity which he maintained till the end, the Professor evinced interest in semiotics, communication theory, anthropology and contextualism in a discrete manner, but still perceivable for whoever reads his work carefully, which is neither as insubstantial as his rivals claim, nor as rich as his zealous supporters maintain. However, it is definitely solid, fruitful and laden with meaning.[34]

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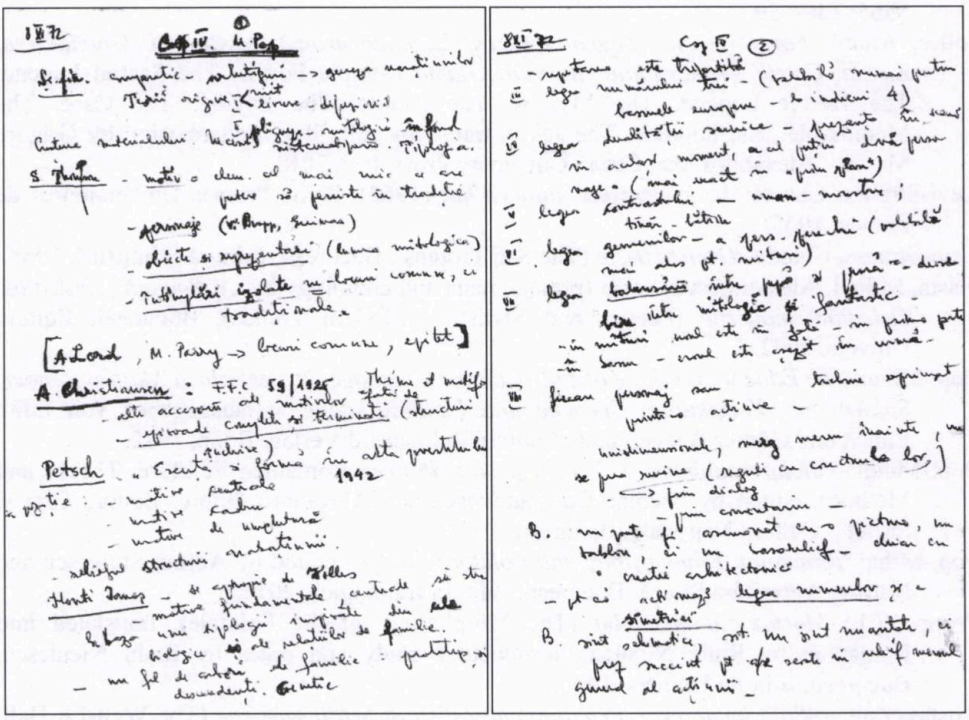
[30] Constantinescu 1987 (the "Sim. Fl. Marian" Prize, awarded by the Romanian Academy in 1990).

[31] In Vianu–Rosetti–Pop–Alexandrescu 1966: 41-47, republished in Pop 1998: 89-94.

[32] *Secolul XX* (The XX-th Century), World Literature Journal edited by the Romanian Writers' Union, no. 5, 1967: 155-161, republished in Pop 1998, p. 160-169; the German version, *Der formelhafte der Volksdichtung. Dem Andenken an Wolfgang Steinitz gewidmet*, in „Deutsches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde", Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, Band 14, Teil I, 1968: 1-15.

[33] See Constantinescu 2007.

[34] A Romanian version of this essay came out under the title *Un curs al profesorului Mihai Pop din 1972* (A Course of Professor Mihai Pop in 1972), in the journal „CERC (Cercetări Etnologice Românești Contemporane). Revistă de etnologie" (CRER [Contemporary Romanian Ethnological Research]. Journal of Ethnology) vol. 5, no 1, 2009: 92-98. The present text in English was translated by Florența Simion Popescu.



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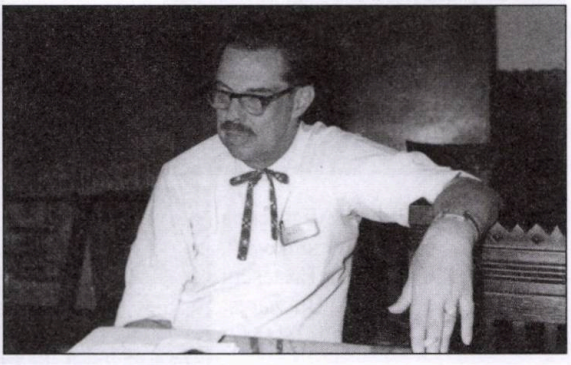
BUCHAREST, 1969: THE 5TH CONGRESS OF THE "INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR FOLK NARRATIVE RESEARCH" (FACSIMILE PAPERS, PART VI)

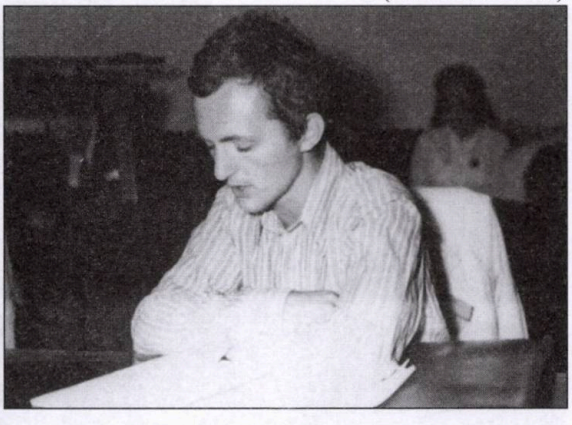
1: Nancy Schmitz: Quebec
(AIEF: FL 1918/3/44448)

2: William Hugh Jansen: Lexington
(FL 1918/35/44477)



3: Juha Yrjänä Pentikäinen: Helsinki
(FL 1915/33/44534)

4: Bengt af Klintberg: Stockholm
(FL 1919/2/44540)



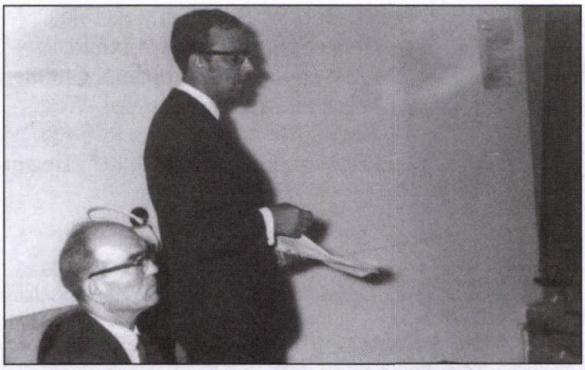
5, 6: Rolf Wilhelm Brednich: Freiburg; Ion Taloş: Cluj (FL 1915/24/44457, 1915/14/44518)

7: Erna Vasil'evna Pomerantzeva*, Constantin Eretescu: Bucharest (FL 1920/13/44582)

* see her ISFNR paper published in REF/JEF 1-2/2016: 246-253, and another image on the first photo in REF/JEF 1-2/2020: 259.

8: International publishers'exhibition (in the back): Thomas Albert Sebeok: Bloomington, Constantin Eretescu (FL 1913/3/44377)**

** closeup detail of the last ISFNR image (international books exhibition) published in REF/JEF 1-2/2016: 253.



9: Ion C. Chiţimia: Bucharest, Rolf Wilhelm Brednich
(FL 1918/14/44456)

10: Listening to Rolf Wilhelm Brednich's presentation (round the table): Ion Taloş, Bengt af Klintberg, Hannjost Lixfeld & Ernst Heinrich Rehermann & Günther Petschel: Göttingen
(FL 1918/17/44460)

11: Watching Brednich's slideshow projection (same room larger view, at the table): Tamás Körner: Budapest, Karel Constant Peeters: Leuven, Hanni Markel: Cluj, Helga Stein: Göttingen, Ion Taloş
(FL 1918/15/44458)

12: Same place & time (by the table backside): Karel C. Peeters, Hanni Markel, Helga Stein, Ion Taloş, Bengt af Klintberg, Hannjost Lixfeld, Ernst Heinrich Rehermann, Günther Petschel, ?, Milko Matičetov: Ljublijana, Albert Bates Lord: Cambridge/USA
(FL 1918/16/44459)

13: Rolf W. Brednich, Ion Taloș, Helga Stein, Hannjost Lixfeld, Ernst Heinrich Rehermann, Günther Petschel, Marianne Rumpf: West Berlin, Mr. & Mrs. Lutz Röhrich: Freiburg, Leander Petzoldt*: Tiegen (FL 1917/34/44502)

* his ISFNR paper, *Genetische und morphologische Aspekte der Vorkerszählung im 17 Jahrhundert*, is not to be found.

14: 1st row (from left to right): Bengt af Klintberg, Bente Gullveig Alver: Oslo, Klaus Beitl: Vienna; 2nd row: Alan Dundes*: Berkeley, Brynjulf Alver**: Oslo, Reimund Kvideland: Bergen, Mortan (Vilhelm) Nolsøe: Oslo (FL 1915/34/44435)

* paper in REF/JEF 1-2/2016: 233-245.
** paper in REF/JEF 1-2/2019: 184-189.

15: The film projection hall:* 2nd row: Lauri Honko**, Pirkko-Liisa Rausmaa & Märta Honko: Helsinki, Brynjulf & Bente Alver; 3rd row: John Barre Toelken: Eugene, Adeboye Babalola***: Lagos, Mortan Nolsøe, Mrs. & Mr. Röhrich, Hannjost Lixfeld; 4th row: Daniel J. Crowley***† & Mrs. Crowley; behind them (5th row): William Hugh Jansen, Venetia June Newall: London (FL 1917/16/44494)

16: The film projection hall: 1st lady to the right: Tanți Spirtaru; 2nd row: Brynjulf & Bente G. Alver, R. Kvideland, J.Y. Pentikäinen; 3rd row: A. Babalola, M. Nolsøe, the Röhrichs, H. Lixfeld; 4th row: the Crowleys, behind them (5th row): William H. Jansen, Venetia J. Newall (FL 1917/15/44493)

* on the 1st row: the 3 juniors of the Crowleys.
** paper & photo in REF/JEF 1-2/2016: 224-232. *** paper in vol. 1-2/2020: 282-300. ***† paper & photos in vol. 1-2/2019: 199-206, 189.

17: Bottom of the grand aula of the Romanian Academy (penultimate row, anticlockwise): the Scandinavian group of Mortan Nolsøe, Reimund Kvideland, Brynjulf Alver, Bente G. Alver (also seen in photos 14-16, noticeable in 23, 24), Petr Dinekov: Sofija; behind the last two: Wayland D. Hand*: Los Angeles; last row (left): Robert Wildhaber: Basel, Jacques Sinninghe: Breda
(FL 1913/14/44404)

18: At the presiding desk: Oldřich Sirovátka: Brno, Lutz Röhrich, Lia Vasilescu: Bucharest; visible downstairs: Vera K. Sokolova**, Maja Bošković-Stulli: Zagreb, Erna V. Pomerantzeva; second level: Bengt af Klintberg
(FL 1915/30/44532)

19: Mrs. Röhrich, Leander Petzoldt, Ambrazejos Ioninas: Vilnjus
(FL 1917/31/44501)

20: Venetia Newall, Mr. & Mrs. Mixail Čikovani: Tbilisi
(FL 1916/26/44440)

* text (signed together with Linda Dégh) in REF/JEF 1-2/2017: 209-229; to be seen in photos of REF/JEF 1-2/2017: 238, 1-2/2019: 183 (pics 2-4).

** photos and text in REF/JEF 1-2/2020: 243, 251-259.

INTEGRATION OF NON-FRENCH ELEMENTS IN FRENCH-CANADIAN FOLKTALE TRADITION

The interest in the presence of non-French elements in French-Canadian folktale tradition is nothing new. Paul Delarue was one of the first to call attention to them (1) and others have since corroborated his assertions. I am not referring to elements that have passed back and forth between popular collections of folk and fairy tales and oral tradition, such as Aladdin, and even films, such as Walt Disney's Snow White. I rather mean to study here the presence of elements most likely to have been acquired through culture contact, particularly elements or tales that might be thought to have entered French-Canadian tradition by way of French tradition, but which turn out to be more likely of non-French origin.

The French-Canadian conteur has a striking ability to absorb elements of other culture groups and often is the means of preserving these elements when they have disappeared altogether from the other group's tradition. This has been shown to be true in studies of folk songs in French Canada that have since disappeared in France. An Irish or Scottish tale, translated and reworked, may be found in the repertory of a French-Canadian conteur in an area where tales have disappeared entirely from the Irish or Scottish group tradition. In her Gaspé study, Carmen Roy (2) discusses some of the culture groups most likely to have furnished tales or elements of tales to French-Canadian conteurs. Foremost among these are the Irish, with English, Nordic

and others coming second. A serious study of possible origins of a puzzling element, unless obviously something else, nearly always begins in the direction of Irish tradition. I should like to concentrate here on some examples of probable borrowing from Irish or Scottish tradition and the different levels upon which this borrowing operates.

My first example is rather a negative one. This is the case of AT 706, The Maiden Without Hands. I have drawn my material from the dissertation manuscript of Mlle Hélène Bernier of Montreal, who did a monograph on the Franco-American tradition of this tale. From her own investigation of the possibilities of Irish influence upon AT 706 in Franco-America, she draws the following conclusion:

> "...seul le motif de l'épine qui se retrouve dans 68 des 96 versions [irlandaises] semble témoigner en faveur de [l'origine irlandaise], alors que d'importants et nombreux facteurs viennent par ailleurs la contredire..."(3).

AT 706 in its Franco-American form is amply attested in French folktale tradition and the motive for seeking its origin elsewhere is mostly a matter of intellectual curiosity. However, while the question of origins is not particularly pertinent, we see that celtic motifs as such are welcome in a French-Canadian context. The thorn-in-foot motif which Mlle Bernier mentions is only found in France in Breton or possibly-Breton-influenced versions. While found in only 15 out of 48 versions in France, it is found in 20 out of 35 Franco-American versions. Miss Bernier also remarks that it is missing from the written

tradition of the tale. Obviously it has struck the Franco-American conteur's fancy whether from Irish or Breton French sources.

If we turn now to another example, AT 311-12, Bluebeard, we find it profitable to consult Irish or Scottish sources for an explanation of a puzzling element. This is the motif of the white or gray horse who does office for Bluebeard in two French-Canadian versions, and which is not found in French versions of AT 311 (4). At the same time, this is only an opening episode, and the subsequent unwinding of the tale may vary shapply until only the opening remains constant. A summary of the opening episode in the variants accessible to me will show the extent of this consistency.

1. "Le gros cheval blanc". A poor widow with three daughters lives in a village from which a great white horse carries off girls. The eldest girl goes out to look for firewood and the horse appears and carries her off. He takes her to a large house and gives her the keys to all the chambers, one of which is forbidden (5).

2. "The Widow and Her Daughters". A poor widow with three daughters has only a kailyard for their livelihood. A great gray horse comes to eat the kail. The oldest daughter goes out to frighten him away, strikes him with her distaff, which sticks to him and to her. He carries her off to a green hill which opens to admit them. He gives her the keys to all the chambers, one of which is forbidden (6).

3. "An Sean Ghearán Bán". A widow has three daughters of whom the two eldest are lazy. One day an old white horse enters the garden. The eldest goes out to hit him with a rod, the rod sticks to horse and girl and she is carried off. They arrive at a door in a hill which opens to let them in. The girl may not look in the twelfth chamber (7).

4. "The Black Sheep". The opening of this variant follows number 3, except that a black sheep carries off the girls (8).

5. "La pomme rouge". A little girl lives with her grandmother who has a field of cabbages. A wolf comes into the cabbages. When the little girl goes out to frighten him away, he carries her away to a castle. She may visit everywhere except in one chamber (9).

In each of the variants it is the third girl who is successful in deceiving the animal-ravisher. The rest of the story is quite different from one variant to another except in the case of numbers 1 and 2. Here the Nova Scotian French version follows the Scottish one, episode for episode with very little variation, as far as the dénouement. In the Scottish variant, he turns into a man, and in the Nova Scotian tale he stamps his foot on the ground, like Rumpelstilzchen, and is seen no more. Elsewhere, in number 5, the heroine starts out after the vanished wolf in the manner of AT 425. In the Irish versions, the third girl redeems her sisters by giving milk to the cat, who then licks off the telltale blood from her foot, and ends by marrying the animal-turned-man. This opening episode seems to be an isolated loan in French-Canadian tradition, for in the remaining versions of AT 311-12 in Franco-American tradition, we have the Bluebeard story as it is usually found (man or devil as husband) and the variations are more closely allied to that sequence.

I should like to turn now to a more complex case of borrowing in which we can better see the juggling of elements, the transformation of characters,

and the choice of emphasis, which may be said to distinguish the variants of a tale while retaining its integrity. In my dissertation monograph of AT 710 in Canadian and Irish tradition (10), I distinguish two sub-groups of the tale, of which the second, 710 B, is not found in French tradition at all, but does appear in Irish tradition in a most similar manner. The versions in this group are less numerous than 710 A in Canada (there are 4), but are more numerous than the A group in Ireland (20 out of 35). On the other hand, the internal variations are much fewer than those in sub-group A, which has almost as many elemental possibilities as there are versions.

A quick summary of the two tales, 710 A and 710 B, will show the reasons for their distinction.

> 710 A: A girl comes into possession of her foster mother. She falsely denies having looked into a forbidden room and is struck dumb. She marries, and the foster mother steals away her children, whom she is accused of having killed or eaten. Upon acknowledgement of her guilt, or after a final denial, the children are restored.
>
> 710 B: A girl takes service with a mysterious man. She follows him secretly to discover his occupation and while hurrying back loses her slipper. She refuses to say how she lost the slipper and is sent away. She is not struck dumb, but when her children are stolen by the man she allows herself to be accused of eating them. She is saved from execution by the mysterious man, who restores her children and praises her silence.

While the two tales seem dissimilar, the key motif serves to unite them a single exclusive type. This is the refusal to admit guilt, even when

the evidence of the violation of the interdiction is obvious (in A the foster mother is even in the room and sees the heroine; other signs of disobedience are actually superfluous). Here we have a basic distinction of 710 with regard to forbidden room or other taboo stories, where discovery of the violation, denied or not, leads to the killing or return to former state of the disobedient person, unless saved by a ruse or external agent. The terror and suspense of the Bluebeard story give way here to a more subtle psychological conflict. As long as the heroine denies her guilt, the antagonist is powerless to harm her directly (except in one Irish version, where he kills her and she is reborn from her own ashes to continue as usual). I consider that this interdiction/violation "motifeme" suffers an important modification by the interposition of the denial, which here assumes a consequential importance beyond that of a simple evasion. The subsequent punishment of the heroine is in function of the denial and not the actual violation for which the punishment is death.

Turning to the stylistic aspects of 710 B which should help us uncover its possibly Irish origin in French-Canada, we shall first consider obviously similar elements. That the overall tale is similar in the two traditions was evident at first glance (11). An important element is the loss of the slipper. The heroine insists upon an evasive answer to the question "Where did you lose your slipper?" The answer is most commonly "I don't know" (10 Irish versions), or other noncommittal answer (5 Irish versions). A significant precision is found in 9 versions: "En allant traire la vache" (all 4 Canadian versions),

"Feeding calves" (4 Galway versions), and "driving the cows to pasture" (1 Galway version). The slippers are a gift to the girl in the Canadian versions and she must keep them on her feet at all times. In the Irish versions, only 4 mention particularly the giving or finding of the slippers.

A second consistent element is the ghoulish secret occupation of the mysterious man. In 6 versions she does not see what he was doing. In 16 Irish versions he is in the cemetery or church desecrating corpses. In the 2 Canadian versions where she succeeds in spying on him, he is in a forest clearing piled high with corpses or with corpses on stakes which he whips successively. This element is consistent with examples of 710 B in North African and Turkish tradition concerning ghouls.

Another element which the Irish and Canadian versions have in common is the delay of the final execution of the heroine by the appearance of a mysterious cloud (2 Canadian and 3 Irish versions), out of which comes a carriage with the magician and the restored children. Again, in 2 Canadian and 9 Irish versions, the story is prolonged by the addition of AT 884 A, the woman disguised as a man seduced by another woman, with subsequent revelation of her true sex. Here the emphatic treatment differs in the two traditions. The French-Canadian <u>conteur</u> elaborates greatly on the wiles and frustration of the sister-in-law trying to seduce the heroine. There are three tries before the heroine is condemned. In the Irish versions, the seduction is merely mentioned and attention is concentrated upon an elaborate description of the revelation of the heroine's true sex.

A quick glance at several divergent ecotypic elements will show us some distinctions between the two traditions. In several Irish versions of A and B we find the sleeping pin which, while extant in Canadian tradition, is absent from the Canadian versions of 710. In the Kerry Irish variants, the heroine's children reveal her presence and theirs to their father by playing a game of hurling with a gold ball and a silver hurley, a probable influence of the Finn Cycle of Hero tales. Where the profession of the heroine is given, she is a cuisinière in French Canada and a seamstress in Ireland. When the heroine is cast out she wanders in a forest. In the Irish versions she is there for years, but the French-Canadian conteur is too familiar with the absolute nature of the Canadian forest to leave her there more than four or five days before she is discovered or finds her way out. Finally, we have the entry into action of the heroine at the beginning of the tale. In the Canadian versions, she has set out on her own looking for work, when she comes to the magician's dwelling. In the Irish versions, her initiative is precipitated by an outside force such as a threat or an unwelcome marriage.

In conclusion I should like to retain the necessity of continuing specific studies of contiguous folktale traditions, in order to be able to define in a more satisfactory manner what we mean by a "motif", a "type", or a "style". At the same time we should be less likely to leave aside some of the more fascinating, albeit "tertiary", aspects of the study of folktales.

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8. Irish Folklore Commission mss 270, p. 623-629. Told in English by James Watters, age 19, farmer, at Mínte na Diaidh, Ardá Ratha, County Donegal, on December 14, 1936.

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THE RAISON D'ÊTRE OF SOME AMERICAN LOCAL LEGENDS

For the purposes of this paper--and of brevity--allow me to assume that local legends are narratives which their auditors accept about 99% of the time as non-fiction and which their performers accept about 90% of the time as non-fiction. Perhaps a majority of these tales are true, but a larger fraction than either performers or hearers suspect are fiction. These legends are local because they record events, locations, people, and opinions that belong to the community which also somehow includes the performer, the auditors, their families, and perhaps their ancestors.

In this paper, American means quite precisely the Eastern half of Kentucky and one adjoining community in West Virginia and some means 51 narratives, selected on no basis except the order in which they arrived at my desk. Why 51? Originally, I had intended 50, but the 51st story contained an element untypically absent from the preceding 50. The 51 tales were recorded by three students[1]; 44 were tape-recorded in story-telling situations, the other 7 were dictated to a tape-recorder or to a collector's notebook. The informants were a graduate student (31 narratives) from a story-telling family (who frequently earns his beer by telling

1 Miss Susan Blythe, Mr. David P. Elkinton, and Mrs. Susanne Gilliam are due all gratitude for their industry and remarkable care.

tales at social gatherings), a successful businessman (10 narratives), a law student (4), a professor of engineering (2), and two housewives, a laborer, and another graduate student (all 1 each). All 51 narratives were collected between March of 1968 and May of 1969.

One further set of statistics. Of these 51 narratives, 25 1/2 (one narrative contains two episodes--one true and one fictional) seem to be clearly true, while 11 1/2 are definitely not true. The other 14 are in a perplexing grey area: for 7 there is no evidence that they are fiction, but they don't seem true and the other 7 don't seem to be fiction but there is no real reason for labeling them true, either.

So much temporarily for some American local legends.

Why do local legends in general exist? The usual assumptions are: local legends preserve local data, they embody local criteria and stereotypes; like other oral genres, they afford to the performer a chance to dominate an audience and to auditors an opportunity to react to an aesthetic aural experience. And it might be assumed that local legends will thrive where literacy is scarce or ineffective, where formal education is limited, where media of information and of popular non-folk entertainment offer no competition.

Although none of these encouraging conditions, I hope it safe to say, prevails among the informants (or among their auditors) who supplied the 51 narratives to be analyzed here, I think it also safe to say that with these informants--as with most Americans who know any folktales--the most

vital and by far the largest part of their oral repertory is local legends (a number admittedly swollen by imitation local legends: tall tales and popular anecdotes that have been colored with local terms to make them more palatable to auditors). What functions (another way of saying: why do they exist?) do these 51 narratives serve for those who perform them and for those who hear them?

The criteria for identifying such functions are perforce subjective and depend upon a wide acquaintance with local legendry. Perhaps the best way to show these criteria is to analyze some examples. Consider the following tale which proved to be the first of several told about "Uncle Albert" by a graduate student at a small beer party:

> That's like my old Uncle Albert, my alcoholic, great-uncle preacher. And they all called him Uncle Preacher. And when he wasn't preachin' he's drinkin'. And bunch of 'em was sittin' around the store one day, my grandfather's store, and Ol' Uncle Albert came through the store, y'know, and didn't even slow down.
>
> He just dipped his hand down in the brown sugar barrel and walked on out the side door and around behind. And Ol' Man Si Roberts, lived down the road a little ways, and he gave him time enough to get out behind the store and found him there with a bottle in one hand and brown sugar in the other just a shakin' it in there and Ol' Man Si Roberts, he stuttered, he said, "Wh-, Wh-, why, you, Brother Albert Jackson, a minister of the Gospel, what's goin' on? Why, wh, why."
>
> "Why," said, "Shush, shush, Si, just keep your shirt on, Si, I'll let you take communion first."

Why does the performer tell this well-shaped, presumably true story? Of course, it is entertaining, a "good story" that leads up to an effective

punch-line conclusion, one that will probably hold an audience. More to the point, with its stutterer and its brief dialogue, it gives the narrator a chance to display his virtuosity as a performer. With the main character, so quick with the clever retort, being his uncle, albeit an alcoholic uncle, ("my drinking uncle" is a cliché in American humor), the story gives the performer a spot on the stage, a bit of self-dramatization. And, something this particular performer is quick to seize, the story affords a chance to look askance at mealy-mouthed morality.

Why does the listener receive this story? Again, of course, it is entertaining and provides him with a memorable punch line. It may also allow him to congratulate himself upon recognizing the didactic truth (preachers have human failings, too) underlying the humor or even upon recognizing the joke (it is an area in which the sacrament of communion is not universally known). More important, I feel, it affords him a subject of nostalgia: the vanishing country store that served as a masculine loafing place and that kept its supplies in large open containers rather than in the small modern antiseptic packages.

Naturally the functions served from the point of view of the performer and from that of the hearer are related to each other, yet I feel that they are ~~more~~ rather complementary than repetitive.

Consider the following typical narrative, not a true story, though its hero is a real person who died some forty years ago.

> Josh Matthews lived in Perry County and was pretty worthless. He farmed a little, moonshined a lot, and everybody knew he dynamited fish. The new game warden heard about Josh's fishing habits and planned a trap to catch him. He went out to Josh's house and found Josh sitting on the front step. The game warden introduced himself as a new man in the area and asked Josh, "Do you know where a man can get a good mess of fish?" Josh acted like he didn't know who the man was and said, "Follow me." He took him down to the river and waded him out in the middle. Josh handed him a lit stick of dynamite and said, "Here, hold it or throw it." The game warden had to throw it. Josh picked up all the fish and went home, without any fear of arrest.

Certainly, for the performer, this narrative presents the function of preserving the history of a local character and of showing an in-group member triumphing over an outsider. For both the audience and the performer, as the concluding sentence shows, the tale makes possible a vicarious flouting of an unpopular law. And for the audience, the sudden kind of shock or excitement, though in a better performance, this moment might well be prolonged. dramatic confrontation supplies a

Compare the more effective tale--probably true--about the same folk hero from the same informant, a law student.

> There was a man at Yerkes in Perry County named Dryer. He was mean and tough. He'd killed quite a few men. I know that. One day he got roaring drunk. Josh Matthews got drunk too and they fell out. Dryer beat Josh up real bad, because he was a great big man and Josh was real little. He wore out the ground with poor Josh, but he didn't lick his spirit. Dryer told Josh he wouldn't kill him this time, but if he ever saw Josh in town again he'd sure kill him. Josh looked up from the ground and said, "O.K., Mr. Dryer, but remember, I'm a fighting man, too."

Here again the story allows the teller to be the historian of the local hero and to show his bravery in the face of great odds. For the auditor, the memorable punchline permits the recognition of the pathos

of the little man who won't give up and perhaps the recognition of the humor implicit in his drunken insistence upon having the last word.

The following story, obviously not true but told with belief, is badly performed, nearly incoherent, but the functions it would fulfill in a less passive form are obvious. The present informant, we can presume, must have heard the tale more or less directly from a woman who had related it as her personal experience.

> One time there was a child wantin' a piece of bread, and their sisters and brothers wouldn't give it to 'em. The mother had died, and this child was beggin' for 'em to give him something to eat. Any they wouldn't give it to him, and they saw their mother sittin' in a rocking chair. And after she seen that, she went and give the child something to eat. That always kinda feared me not to ever let nothing like that happen. I even hate to put a child to bed when he's hollerin' for something to eat, and you know he's not really hungry, without giving him something to eat.

For the performer, this sorry little tale should provide the opportunity to challenge his audience (implicit question: How do you explain that?) and to create a sense of the eerie. It also of course allows him to justify over-permissiveness towards children. For the auditor, the story should provide that agreeable sense of being safely scared that ghost stories generally provide. But it also enables him to recognize one of the truisms so dear to folk communities: Maternal love is so strong that it can reach even beyond the grave.

Much more satisfactorily performed, the next tale, probably true, was the last in a chain of ten told about a village half-wit (another cliché

in American folk narrative), Frank, who it was established always talked in a high-pitched adenoidal whine.

> Finally got to the point, y'know, where Frank was just bein' a burden on everybody and was bummin' money so much that they tried to do what they could to get him on relief. He was too young then, well, he'd never paid any social security. And the only way they could do it was to get him declared incompetent by the court and then get a committee appointed for him. And they had to have three witnesses to testify about his competence. And two of 'em testified that Frank was incompetent, that he couldn't handle his own affairs. And the other one said he was perfectly capable of handlin' his own affairs.
>
> And Frank was tell' about it two, three days later, "Ah, there's just two of 'em on my side."

So far as the performer is concerned, this tale functions as local history, enabling him to demonstrate a little of his narrative skill to convey a quietly amusing, well-formed story. The auditor is, of course, amused by Frank's naivete and pleased by the teller's performance, but, more important, he feels pride in recognizing a "truth" in the story: point of view is everything, or--in more folk-like language--it's all according to how you look at it.

The last example to be cited has a tangential interest in that it is the story, already mentioned, in which the first half is probably true and the second half, a joke of wide currency, is certainly not true.

> This friend of my father, the first man to hire my father to work in this company where he's been working, was in the hospital two Christmases ago. And, before the story I'm gettin' to, they interviewed people who were goin' to have to spend Christmas in the hospital for the local paper. And he and his wife hadn't been gettin' along for several years. In fact, he slept downstairs and she slept upstairs. And it was quite a bad situation. And they interviewed D.A.--his name was D.A.Byron--about what he felt about spending Christmas in the hospital. He said, well, he reckoned it'd be the happiest Christmas he'd spend in a long time. And his wife called up Mother just in tears because this was goin' be published all over town and people'd find out. But anyway.

> When he was there, the nurse came in one mornin' with the little glass container for the urine specimen they needed for that day. And so she left the room and while the nurse was gone, D.A. had a jug of apple cider that a friend had brought him. And he filled up the glass with apple cider and the nurse came back in and picked it up and said, "Little cloudy this mornin', isn't it, Mr. Byron?"
>
> And he said, "Well, let's run it through her again." And he picked it up and drank it.

The first episode of this story, with its verisimilitude, allows the performer to present his second episode in the guise of a local legend (which he probably knows it is not) and the combining of the two makes possible what every story-teller desires: holding a longer block of the audience's time. Amused though he is, the auditor is also delighted to share a tidbit of fairly pallid gossip (a frequent function) and to recognize a nearly fabliau-like attitude towards marital happiness.

There are many reasons why folktales, including local legends, come into existence and survive. They serve obvious purposes associated with community life, they give vent to various drives of the individual, and they supply certain basic artistic and aesthetic needs. From the six examples already cited, my contention should be clear that among the reasons why local legends thrive with perhaps unexpected vigor in America is the fact that these legends serve various functions connected with both their performance and their audition. Each local legend usually serves a number of such functions, and often each local legend functions one way for a performer and another way for a listener. These functions are, I think,

partially recognized, at least subconsciously, by tale-tellers frequently and by tale-hearers very infrequently.

Applying the same subjective analysis as displayed with our six examples to fifty-one (including the six) local legends yields a statistical picture of the functions explicit or implicit in these--and presumably in many more--American local legends.

Functions from the performer's point of view can be divided roughly into three large classes: those relating to the skill and techniques of story-telling; those relating to the content of the stories and to the purpose of that content; and those relating to the story-teller himself as a person.

Most common of the skill-and-technique functions is that of allowing the performer to handle speech patterns (18)[1] involving dialogue, peculiar accents, speech defects such as stuttering, sermon styles and the like. A traditional tale or joke through a process of adaptation and localization may serve (6) to increase the teller's legend repertory or (4) to augment a cycle about a local character. Tales may lend themselves to blending into other tales (2) so as to give the teller a single tale that will take longer to perform. Tales may give the teller the chance (3) to be bawdy or coarse (this is a fairly Puritanical area) at the expense of local worthies and in the name of faithful accounting. A legend may enable the teller to utilize

1 Such parenthetical numbers will be used henceforth to indicate the number of tales, out of 51, in which the particular function being described is either implicit or explicit.

(2) the popular effects of the tall tale, humorous, much-serious hyperbole. It may permit him to use (1) ghostly effects to induce temporary fright, to utilize the listener's knowledge of stereotypes (1) (a character is identified as an Indian; later he shows great economy of words--no cause and effect is expressed), and to convey a pun (1) (a relatively rare and difficult thing to do in a folk-situation).

The content functions do not so much imply conscious selection of material by the performer as suggest ~~names~~ reasons for content survival. Where a teller is conscious that the "local color" background of a story may be unfamiliar and therefore fascinating to his audience (Baptist conversions, faith-healing, female preachers, "old-time" events, open-air revivals), he may build up that material (4). Some tales function to keep the record straight on the local characters (4) (One tale tells of a particularly untimely remark made to a minister by the local half-wit and ends with the line--"And the worst thing about it was that the minister had to travel 24 miles before he got back home to tell it."). Others (6) are meant to commemorate local characters otherwise unnoted (the bearded old man who rode a motorcycle). Others are intended to preserve a memorable statement (1), to show how things once were (Prohibition days) or still are (local-option "dry" counties) (2), to preserve classic practical jokes (2), to record a local triumph over an alien force (1), and to record a good deed (1).

Those functions related to the teller as a person are almost entirely bent to expressing the teller's ego or his image for the audience. First-person narrative may add to realism and performance possibilities, but it also gives the teller stature (8), particularly when the tale takes an I-told-you-so twist (7). Frequently the tale implies a kind of superiority in the teller as he ridicules (9) emotional religion or fraudulent morality, or as he laughs at ignorance or half-wittedness (6), or as he scorns foolish money habits (1). And of course a tale may justify (1) an opinion, fear, or action of the teller.

The functions from the point of view of the listeners to these 51 local legends fall into five loose categories: Functions of amusement, of recognition, of ego-flattery, of emotion-evocation, and of scandal.

By far the most common, of course, are the various aspects of the function to amuse or entertain: in fact, it is a rare story which is called up by the sheer technical skill of the performer (10) in acting out dramatic situations. There is the delight called up by the story (20) which leads successfully to a punchline. There is the story where a major function is the creation of a quaint or picturesque character (6) and the story in which strange effects (the sound of an irate duck; the speech idiosyncrasies of a woman) are created (2) for entertainment. And there is the entertainment which is provided by shared suspense (1) (Did the girls escape from the fallen building?).

The second category of functions for the listener is related to folk aesthetics: a successful artist provides reasons for anticipation in his

hearers and then fulfills those anticipations; or the same artist provides the material in which the listener can recognize a truth, more accurately a truism, and which indeed he may summarize in a proverbial saying (They'll do it everytime; That's the way of the world; A man's best friend; That's gratitude; etc.). Many of these tales (18) enable the listener to anticipate and to have his anticipations fulfilled-indeed after twelve of these tales the listener can arrive at one and the same conclusion: that's the way of the world. Others (6) encourage the listener to recognize folk stereotypes (the taciturn Indian, the evangelist). Others expect the listener to recognize practical joke situations (4). And one even, successfully I think, expects the hearer to recognize the humor in the narrator's attitude towards a story.

The function of flattering the ego of the listener is served by stories that rather riskily ask him to scorn revivalistic religion (4), to feel superior to ignorance and half-wittedness (7), to see through moral pretense (1), to condone exceptions to conventional moral precepts (3), and to understand intentional ambiguities (3) akin to puns.

Occasionally stories are intended to invite the more gentle emotions: nostalgia for the good old days (2), pity for those who face impossible odds (1), sympathy for the rebel (2), and admiration for the kind (1).

Finally there are stories that elicit delight in scandal (2), and delight in seeing the law flouted (1).

I am sure none of these functions is served peculiarly by local legends. I am sure that serving such functions is not the only raison d'etre of American local legends. Indeed, if American local legends were to ~~di~~sappear~~,~~ from oral tradition into print, something else would have to serve the same functions for those functions ~~serve~~ supply man's needs. But American local legends will not disappear, since they are too insignificant, too libelous, too uncertain to warrant publication. And since they are not going to be popularly published, the functions they serve so admirably will help to explain their thrifty survival.

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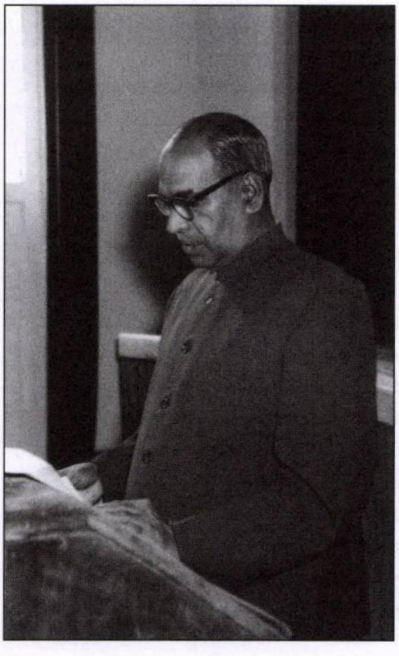
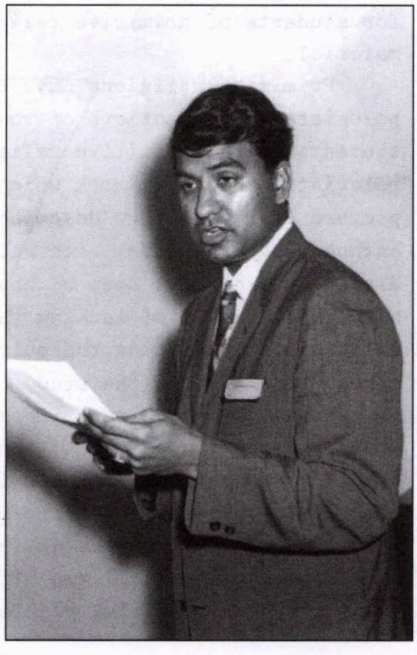


21 & 22: Krishna Deva Upadhyaya*: Varanasi, & Hari Same Upadhyaya**: Fort Valley (FL 1916/30/ 44410, 1915/10/ 44514)

* photo and paper published in REF/ JEF 1-2/ 2020: 243, 276-281.
** paper published in the same volume, p. 269-275.



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On the Study of Function in Religious Folk-Narratives

The study of religious tradition involves material which ought to be of interest to those working in at least three disciplines, comparative religion, cultural anthropology and folkloristics. It is usual in the science of religion to classify religions in two main groups, according to their sources. There is abundant documentation for the religions of the historical literate cultures and in analysing this documentation one can use the methods of source criticism provided by history, archaeology and philology. This group includes all the great world religions with the greatest number of adherents - for example Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam - all of which are at least 1000 years old. The other main group consists of the religions of non-literate cultures, ~~and includes more than 100 million adherents most of whom live in Africa.~~ Oral tradition makes up the basic material for the study of primitive religions. The higher religions have both oral and written traditions. Certain authoritative written texts for example (the Bible, the Koran, the Veda books, the works of Confucius) originated in oral tradition and were written down by informants who were familiar with the traditions concerned. The methods used in the study of tradition would undoubtedly be useful for explaining the history of the higher religions. Tradition analysis is absolutely indispensable for students of primitive religion, for whom tradition is the primary material.

Primitive religions have been the province of both cultural anthropologists and scientists of religion. In the Anglo-American world most students of the primitive religions have been trained as cultural anthropologists, and every work which sets out to give a detailed overall picture of the culture described, as well as all text books of general anthropology also deal with religion. Collaboration between different disciplines has not been without its critics. Cultural anthropologists have been accused of lacking the historical perspective, and scholars of religion of neglecting the cultural totality. When we remember that the source material for the study of primitive religion is specifically an oral tradition, a third science intervenes, folkloristics. Folklorists would indeed have reason to accuse both cultural anthropologists and scholars of religion of their inability or lack of desire to use tradition analysis and source criticism if they themselves could provide analysis models which would be useful for religious studies. In studies of primitive religions one hears all too often the baseless assertion that the oral tradition of primitive peoples is an undifferentiated mass.

As early as 1941, the famous folkloristic terminologist, Carl Wilhelm von Sydow made an appeal, spiced with much criticism, for co-operation between scholars of religion and scholars of tradition. He points out that "the school of Comparative Religion is incapable of seeing independently which categories of tradition are of importance for the study of religion and which have nothing to do with religion at all; they have contended themselves, in good faith, with the material prepared by former scholarship, and have now and then added some detail which might seem relevant. Reliable scientific work in the field of primitive religion presupposes broadly based studies of popular tradition and an thorough knowledge of all its several categories." Von Sydow's criticism was correct, and still holds good. However - in the light of the present situation - it is really an advantage that folkloristic genre analysis did not succeed in establishing for itself the bridgehead in religion-scientific studies in the terms proposed by von Sydow. Von Sydow was a purveyor of terms, and invented hundreds of new concepts of his own. The analytical serviceability of the terms was never tested; von Sydow did not apply his inventions practically, to primary studies of tradition. It is therefore no wonder that from his mammoth system only a few of the concepts have found their way into international folkloristics, and even these (for example 'memorate' and 'fabulate') often have a different meaning from those accorded them by von Sydow. From the point of view of the science of religion, it was fatal that the sydowian tradition-psychology was completely lacking in the observation- and social-psychological aspect. His explanations were based upon the search for idea association or even rational causes for religious experiences - for example, "man as the victim of hallucinations". For example, as far as religious narratives are concerned, it seems to me that we are only now, on the basis of primary studies, beginning to establish a terminology, which on the basis of its analytical serviceability could be recommended also for the science of religion and cultural anthropology.

The problems of genre analysis are more limited for the science of religion than for folkloristics. To a scholar studying religion on the basis of oral tradition, genre analysis is principally of interest as an aid to source criticism. The main question which arises, is what meaning and source-value do different tradition-material have in the study of religious phenomena. The science of religion requires fewer terms than folkloristics, because many tradition genres remain outside its field of interest. Among the valid criteria for recognizing tradition genres, one problem especially - that of truth value which must be included in the field of function - arises more often than others: "Is the tradition

believed in or not?" and "In what way is it believed?" For the scholar of religion it would be useful to have a system which would accord different source values to different genres on the basis of how they mediate elements belonging to the supranormal sphere.

Analysis of religious tradition is always function-analysis. Before one can even call a tradition religious, it is necessary to determine the functions of the material under study. In explaining the essence of religion the following four aspects are generally most attended to: 1) The intellectual aspect, which includes the theoretical side of religion: man is conscious of the existense of powers which support values and control his needs and destinies. 2) The emotional aspect covers man's religious feelings: he feels himself to be dependent on the aforesaid powers and is aware of communication with them in different ways. 3) The behaviouristic aspect includes normative behaviour models, for example rites. Lastly, 4) the social aspect, in which it is recognized that social action follows from religion; it has an influence which creates certain forms of society. All these aspects may crudely be considered under the heading of function.

What is function? What elements in tradition should function-analysis draw attention to? The meaning to which function was originally assigned and for which it is still needed, is environment of use. It is necessary to determine the situation in which a certain proverb, tale, riddle or song was performed. Within religious tradition we may speak for example of the ritualistic or entertainment function of a myth or saints' legend or of the pedagogic, explicatory, warning or entertainment function of a legend when, in addition to the environment of use one keeps an eye on the task or purpose of the tradition material in question. When studying the memorate tradition which deals with religious experiences it is useful, besides the situation of telling, to observe the experiential situation in which a folk belief ("house spirit punishes commotion or noise" - "forest spirit wakes a sleeper on the path" - "God punishes blasphemy") was actualized, called to mind by the tradition bearer and began to influence behaviour. If a memorate becomes a legend, interesting details which are unnecessary from the point of view of the plot, but which are important in the description of the experience, generally disappear. In their place we usually find important narrative elements. In order to show whether the narrative studied is a memorate or a legend the analysis must be carried out from the point of view of both narrative situation and situation of experience.

By applying tradition psychology and tradition sociology we can explain for example the functional pre-suppositions of a folk belief - psychic and social factors that have influenced the actualization - and

the functional consequences, that is to say, the behaviour which immediately follows the actualization of belief in the life of either an individual or a society. A belief is said to have manifest or latent consequences according to whether the tradition bearers are aware of the factic purpose of a belief or custom, and of the functional presuppositions and consequences of actualization. The same myth, legend or folk-tale may have different functions in different places. A saints' legend for example - the concept is defined according to the contents: narrative about a saint - may in one place be told for entertainment, in another it may be a warning, in a third it may be a legend explaining the origin of an animal and in a fourth it may be an incantation which is part of a healing drama. From the tradition-historical point of view it is important to explain the primary and secondary functions of a tradition. If two or more tradition products, for example an incantation, a lament and a rune in a nuptial drama occur as parts of the same behaviour totality, they have a functional relation. If on the other hand they appear in the same function and when necessary replace one another, we are dealing with functional alternatives. As regards folk beliefs it is usual that the norm is the same: do not drink, do not play cards - the sanctions vary: a spirit, a deceased person, the Devil or God, punishes. The supranormal beings which occur as sanctions are then mutually rejecting functional alternatives.

One task of function analysis is to return the material under study to those contexts in which it belonged in the life of the people. Of the factors which complicate the function-analysis of tradition, the greatest is the one-sidedness of folkloristic archive material. In both folkloristic studies and in collecting the main emphasis has been on the tradition text and the context has generally been neglected. In addition to tradition texts, we should make a diligent collection of tradition texts. As early as 1926 Bronislaw Malinowski, the grand old man of functionalism and genre analysis, warned against studying myth texts alone, when one is trying to discover the function of a myth: "The text, of course, is extremely important, but without the context it remains lifeless". In field work in future attention should be paid to questions useful for contextual study and source criticism. For the collection of special tradition genres, standard questions should be planned, which would be checked after the tradition text proper has been uninterruptedly recorded. There would be good reason for developing folkloristic function analysis in the direction of the depth research being done by cultural anthropologists. ✗ Talo/o

In studying tradition contexts it is necessary to take into account the two aspects of context, use and meaning. The former concerns the

situation in which a tradition appears and is actualized. For example, "Did a myth have a ritual function?" or "In what circumstances was a particular belief actualized and when and how did it begin to influence behaviour?" The correlation between text and context is interesting and may be found, for example, as the adaptation of a tradition to a new function. Under meaning we include the opinions, interpretations, evaluations, attitudes etc. of the tradition-bearers concerning a tradition they know or represent. Just as metalanguage means linquistic statements about language, so metafolklore may be understood as the "folklore of folklore", or folkloristic statements about folklore (Dundes). It is clear that in explaining both use and meaning one is compelled to do a certain amount of quesswork - as earlier in the search for the original idea and function of a tradition - unless the tradition-bearer has been questioned about the context.

From the point of view of source criticism of religio-scientific material a tripartite division - into folk belief, memorate and legend (belief) would undoubtedly be useful. The folk belief -concept is defined approximately on the basis of formcriterion. It expresses a supranormal assertion in a generalizing statement, for example "there is a spirit in the forest", "God exists", or "to see a black cat is an evil omen". A memorate is an experiential narrative - a description of a supranormal experience undergone by the narrator or somebody close to him and it is the most reliable source for the scholar studying religion. It represents an empirical tradition; the surest way of recognizing a memorate is by its observation psychological authenticity. By taking into account the observation psychological and social-psychological factors we may decide how authentically the memorate being studied describes the supranormal experience. Compared to a memorate a legend is a secondary source for the scholar. The most important distinguishing features of a legend are to be demonstrated on the basis of content. It is typical of a legend that the contents are stereotyped and follow a certain plot-formula. We may show, by comparison, that this formula is repeated in variants of the same legend and often in the variants of a legend belonging to the same legend group. A considerable number of legends are intricately constructed around a certain formula-like dialogue pattern. Lucidity of plot and a certain impersonality is typical of the legend. Details, which are typical of the memorate, unnecessary for the plot, but necessary for description of the experience, are not found in legends, which survive on the basis of narrative interest.

A folk belief is a statement, a memorate a detailed report of a supranormal experience, while a legend is a lucid, stereotyped narrative

totality, with a clear plot. A folk belief is always a generalization - a religious saying - and therefore its trustworthiness must be proved by careful frequency analysis. The same is also true of legend-analysis, which also includes comparison and the study of form, style, structure and content in order to separate the stereotyped material from the unique experiential information. Memorates are the most reliable source for the student of religious tradition, because they reveal the situations in which the religious tradition was actualized and began to influence behaviour. From memorates we may also learn about the social contexts of beliefs, about religious experiences, their experiencers and interpreters, and about the society which preserves the tradition. In this respect, the study of memorates is empirical and gives, for example, a more reliable picture of the life of primitive peoples than the mere listing of an undifferentiated tradition mass.

It is clear that as the genre analysis becomes inter-disciplinary, the resulting exchanges will be useful for folklorists, scientists of religion and cultural anthropologists. It would be useful for those systematizing folk tradition to have the viewpoint of the student of religion on the subject of the manner of actualization of the tradition, the religious experience and behaviour. The cultural anthropologist again, can fructify the dialogue by dividing the concept of function or context which has been too homogeneous in folkloristics and the science of religion. We must then distinguish between the environment of use of the tradition and its meaning. It is evident that in the future we shall have to take up a position vis á vis a qustion which has so far remained peripheral to the discussion, namely the problem of the distribution of the belief concept. We shall no longer ask "Is the tradition believed in or not?" but "How is it believed?" It may be possible to speak of different qualities of belief. The interesting question then will be, "Is there any correlation between a genre and the quality of a particular belief?" It is probable that the different genres mediate in different ways elements belonging to a supranormal or profane tradition.

MMB 2020 Editorial Note. In the Congress's archival box there is another version of J.Y. Pentikäinen's paper (a first one, of 9, ¼ pages), with many cut marks and a Finnish expressed table. The second typing, published above, comprises many of the handwritten annotations made on the first, larger version, thus it was preferred by the author; the X marks over these pages showing that he also shortened it before reading it to the audience. Apart from that, it is with outmost pleasure to let the readeship know that by the time of finalizing the editing and publishing of this volume our colleagues Juha Pentikäinen, Bengt af Klintberg, Rolf Wilhelm Brednich, Ion Taloş, Constantin Eretescu (signing authors in this section), as well as Helga Stein and Leander Petzoldt (seen in the above photos set) are alive, and heavily contributed to the work of identifying themselves and many of their colleagues in 1969 pictures.

Bengt af Klintberg, Stockholm

A RELIGIOUS TALE THAT BECAME A LEGEND. AT 755 IN SWEDISH FOLK TRADITION[1]

In Sweden, like in so many other European countries, the poly-episodic folktale has more and more ceased to be told. For a folklorist, interested in questions of genre analysis and the processes of oral transmission, this development offers several interesting problems. What happens with a folktale, when the last generation of trained traditional narrators has disappeared? Does also the folktale disappear, or does it survive in a more skeleton-like form? Will it assimilate with other genres? Or will it be transformed into another genre of folk epic?

Interesting material for a discussion of such questions is given in the Swedish variants of the religious folktale about a woman, who did not want to have children, type 755 in Aarne-Thompson's "The Types of the Folktale", where it has been given the title "Sin and Grace". Its contents are briefly as follows: A woman does not want to have any children and therefore magically prevents the birth of her children. A priest marries her, and after some time he notices that his wife has no shadow. She is forced to confess her crime, and the priest expels her from home and exclaims that it will be as impossible for her to enjoy the grace of God as for a rose to grow out of a stone table. The woman starts wandering as a beggar and finally comes to another priest, who takes her into a church at night. The unborn children appear and accuse her, but moved by their mother's prayers they finally forgive her. The woman returns to her husband's house and asks the servants for lodging. She gets a sleeping-place upon the oven, and there she dies during the night. The following morning the priest finds a rose having grown out of the stone table, and recognizing the dead woman as his wife, he understands that she has received the grace of God[2].

The number of Swedish variants is about 75. They are found all over the country. The first record was made in 1819, and the total number of 19th Century records is 15 or one fifth of the complete material. The number

[1] The type has been treated earlier by J. Bolte in "Lenaus Gedicht Anna" (Euphorion 4:2, 1897) and "Zur Sage von der freiwillig kinderlosen Frau" (Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde, 1904) and by B. Kahle in "Die freiwillig kinderlose Frau" (Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde, 1906).

[2] The ending related in "The Types of the Folktale" (The children appear and forgive their mother. They go back home and the rose springs forth.) has not been found in any of the Nordic variants.

of records from our Century will most probably grow, since there are still informants alive who know the tale. A historic-geographic investigation gives the result that variants recorded in Swedish-speaking Finland and eastern Sweden show the most original features. In the older southern variants several central motifs are missing, which one may interpret as an indication of the existance of a secundary tradition, having reached Sweden from the Continent. During our Century the records are especially concentrated to those areas of Sweden, which experienced strong religious revival movements during the past Century. These might have created a suitable basis for the moralizing Christian tendencies of the tale. Not only the distribution but also some other facts imply that the tale has, in its most original form, reached Sweden from the east. When the woman wants to prevent the birth of her children, this is achieved by grinding a handmill backwards. The magic grinding has in the countries east of Sweden been a wellknown method of curing illnesses, whereas it is unknown in Sweden. When the woman returns to her home as a beggar, she is allowed to sleep upon the oven. This custom, wellknown all over eastern Europe, has been so rare in Sweden, that the motif has in several variants been misunderstood in such a way that the woman is said to creep into the baking oven and sleep there.

A stylistic analysis of the material indicates a development from the elaborate religious folktale into short, compressed records, some of which have an obvious legend character. However, before any closer investigation of this development, it is necessary to examine the value of the sources. Some of the 19th Century recorders have suffered from literary ambitions and aspired to a romantic style. In a comparison with genuine variants all such literary features can be revealed. When studying at first hand the younger variants it would be a dangerous mistake to consider all of them as being consciously performed narrations; some are no more than abstracts of the tale. The informant has been a passive carrier of the tradition, and he has not wanted or not been able to reproduce the tale in the detailed manner in which he once heard it. His account may have the length of a legend, but it is no living legend.

I do not think it is necessary to go deeper into the characteristics of the 19th Century variants; as I have already mentioned, most of them show the typical features of the traditional religious folktale: they are told in a detailed, stereotyped style with triple repetition and a frequent use of dialogue, and often they end with a Christian moral. Instead, I shall give some examples of the recent material. In 1960 a 72 year old

shoemaker, in the province of Halland, having been asked about ghosts of dead children, told the following story: "There was a woman who had done so to herself, that she could not get any children. But afterwards she repented this and went to a cunning old woman, who told her to stand at the church door at a certain time on a certain day and at a certain time of the moon. She did so, and then there came seven little boys, one after another, spitting in her face and saying: Ptui, you didn't want to be my mother! No, she never got any children, but now she knew how many they would have been."[3]

On a later occasion the recorder asked the informant, if he had heard any stories about a person without shadow. The informant answered: "Yes, I have. There was a priest who was out walking together with his wife, and he noticed that she had no shadow. Then he became horrified and said, that it is as impossible for her to enjoy the grace of God as for his stick to carry fruit and flower. But she died, and the stick was standing there in a corner, and one day the priest noticed that flowers had grown out of it, and there also came fruit on the stick."[4]

What has happened here is obvious: the original tale has been split into two separate narratives. Unfortunately, the latter record has no information about where and from whom the informant heard the narrative, and therefore we do not know if he has made the division himself or if it existed earlier. However, there has been preserved one more record from another province, Dalsland, offering the same division, and here it is obvious that the informant has once heard the complete tale and because of her bad memory tells it as two narratives[5]. Here as well, the episode about the magic prevention of the birth of children and the meeting with the unborn children in the church is told first. The other part of the tale follows immediately after a wellknown legend about a witch who is a priest's wife, and who has taught her daughter to steal milk from the neighbours' cows by stabbing two knives in the wall and milking them[6]. This connection is significant; there has actually been an association between these two narratives in younger tradition, and the reason is that both tell of a priest's wife, who is said to practise witchcraft. In my material there are three records, hybrid forms of these two narratives: a priest detects that his wife has taught their daughter to steal milk or

[3] IFGH 6061. [4] IFGH 6063. [5] IFGH 1540 and 1541. [6] R. Th. Christiansen, "The Migratory Legends" (FFC 175), 1958, No. 3035.

some other piece of witchcraft and expels her with the formula that has already been related, and the miracle takes place.

These examples demonstrate two of the most important processes when a folktale becomes a legend: the loss of episodes, and the integration with already existing legends. As the examples mentioned demonstrate, the tale is built up of two episodes, each followed by a corresponding episode: the magic prevention of the birth of the children is followed by the encounter with the unborn children in the church. The banishing formula of the priest, when he discovers his wife's lack of shadow, is followed by the miracle, that a flower grows out of the stone table. The great importance that must be given the number of episodes when analysing the genres of popular prose was already recognized in 1934 by C.W. von Sydow in his "Kategorien der Prosa-Volksdichtung"[7], where the division into categories followed the criteria of mono- or poly-episodic. It might seem to be a mechanical way of distinguishing categories, but it is fundamentally sound. When analysing the variants of a narrative on the borderline between tale and legend, one finds that the more episodes there are, the stronger the tale-character and vice versa. One can also find examples of narrators combining two or more separate legends - for example about the same supranormal being - into one narrative. A consequence of this is often that they use a more tale-like style than if they had told the legends separately. From a functional aspect this is easy to explain. The short legend has the function of exemplifying, warning or otherwise teaching, not primarily entertaining. Because it refers to a world, which really exists, the supranormal elements have an ominous, threatening signification, and the main stylistic feature is therefore laconism. The entertaining function of the folktale, however, has permitted a detailed, stereotyped style.

The loss of episodes must thus be considered one of the most important processes when a folktale becomes a legend. In my material there is especially one episode that has disappeared in the younger material, and it tells about the wanderings of the woman as a beggar. The basic function of this episode is to prolong the duration of the story. While the variants with folktale character often relate the adventures of the woman from the time she is a young girl until she dies an old woman, the legendary variants cover a considerably shorter time, in some variants a single day. This is a characteristic difference between tale and legend: the aim of the former is to tell about a person and his adventures, the aim of the latter to describe a certain event and its consequences. Furthermore, the legendary

7 C.W. von Sydow, "Selected Papers on Folklore", 1948.

variants are quite naturally characterized by an increasing realism. Some of them report in which parish the events took place. The personal attitudes towards the woman are emphasized - some narrators do not hide their contempt and disgust for the actions of the woman, others stress strongly and with sympathy her fear of the pain connected with childbirth. This realism lies far from the folktale, in which physical pain is very seldom described[8]. One also finds that the social status of the woman is lower. In those older variants where she is not a priest's wife, she is often a girl of the upper classes; in the younger ones her social status is the same as that of the narrators. A further observation can be made concerning the description how the woman with the help of a witch makes herself childless. In the variants with folktale character she is out walking and then meets a helper. The encounter is a situation typical of the folktale; as soon as the hero cannot solve a problem, the helper appears, gives advice and disappears again from the plot[9]. The variants with legend character tell how the woman visits a cunning old woman, asking her for help. This action is in fact quite realistic, because the practices of the so-called wise or cunning old women included not only healing but also such black magic as preventing the birth of children.

The transformation into legend implies not only an increased realism, but also a distinctive stylization, since the legend is not stylized in the same way as the folktale. This becomes especially obvious when the presence of dialogue or direct speech is studied. As opposed to the folktale, where the dialogue has an important place, the legend rarely employs direct speech. When it occurs, it has, as a rule, a central and fatal meaning for the whole action. It is interesting to study the development of the curse, pronounced by the priest when he expels his wife. The older variants appear to be rather heterogenous and bear no evidence of any stronger awareness that the words are a formula. In the younger ones these are often the only uttered words to be found, but on the other hand they constitute a formula, almost identical in a great number of records: "It is as impossible for you to receive the grace of God as it is for a rose to grow out of this table." It is most likely that the formula has become stereotyped in analogy with similar formulas in folk legend tradition; there are several wellknown legends containing syntactically identical formulas with an impossible demand.

[8] Max Lüthi, "Das europäische Volksmärchen. Form und Wesen.", 2 ed. 1960, p. 14 ff.

[9] Lüthi op. cit. p. 31 ff.

One may ask why this tale has survived, while hundreds of others are now extinct. The fundamental reason must be that the motif of childlessness lies far closer to reality than most folktale motifs. The actions of the woman call for moral reactions, and those who heard and told the narrative have had no difficulty in relating to their own experience and system of values. The reason why the tale got the form of a legend is that it contains traits which could be united with Swedish folk beliefs. These beliefs included the possibility of preventing the birth of children magically, the loss of shadow as the visual sign of a committed sin, and - a notion fundamental to the folktale - that the amount of children was predestined for every woman. That is why the cunning old woman is able to tell the priest's wife how many children she will have: they are virtual although they are not born. It was a duty to let the children be born, as is expressed in the following belief account, one among many: "It is decided by God how many children a woman should have, and it would be the greatest sin in the world to try to escape from that." With this attitude, the listeners had no hesitation in accepting the logic of the tale, when it makes the woman a victim of long sufferings ending in death. Her crime is not only to have extinguished the lives of her children beforehand, but to have tried to escape her destiny. The same fatalistic belief in the existance of the unborn children is reflected in a couple of Swedish legends. One tells about a childless woman, who before she is to die is attacked by her unborn children, who spit at her. Another one tells about a woman who waited to marry until she thought she was safe from having any children. But then she had twelve at one time, so small that they could all be placed on a silver platter. They were all the children she was predestined to have.

The degree of integration into Swedish legend tradition can be measured by the existance of [redacted] hybrids of the narrative and other legend types. Some of them have already been mentioned, for example the one about a priest's wife who practises witchcraft. The miracle in the tale, a flower growing out of a stone table, has in western Sweden been influenced by a legend of nature beings longing for salvation, in which a miracle also takes place: a dry stick becomes green[10]. The episode when the woman meets her unborn children in the church has become connected with two widely spread legends, AT 810, in which a magic circle protects a man from the

[10] Christiansen op. cit. No. 5050

devil, and The Midnight Mass of the Dead[11]. The woman enters the church on Christmas morning and finds it filled with people, who would have been her descendants if she had given birth to her children.

Conclusion

It is a wellknown fact, that tales can be told as legends and legends as tales. When dealing with such border material, the scholar will in many cases find that unexpected features are due to the personal stylistic ambitions of the narrator, the recorder or the publisher, and are not representative of the collective tradition. But he will also meet with types that can actually be found in genuine tradition either as tales or as legends. All the variants of such types will have to be investigated before anything can be said about which genre is the relevant one. In many cases a development from tale to legend will prove to have taken place[12]. There are two basic criteria when judging if a certain type should be considered a tale or a legend. One is the number of episodes. The legend is as a rule mono-episodic, but it can as well contain a second episode relating the consequences of the first one. The other criterion is the most important one: to be a legend it must have entered and been integrated into a folk belief context.

[11] Christiansen op. cit. No. 4015

[12] Quite another thing is that a great number of types, having never been anything else than legends, are found listed in "The Types of the Folktale". This will be possible to correct, when an international catalogue of legend types has been realized.

Sagenthemen im deutschen Flugblattdruck

Von Rolf Wilh. Brednich (Freiburg i. Br., BRD).

Betrachtet man die bei den zwei vorausgegangenen Erzählforscherkongressen gehaltenen Referate von der Themenstellung her kritisch, so muß man feststellen, daß sich der größte Teil der Referenten mit der mündlichen Volksüberlieferung beschäftigte. Zeugnisse aus den Anfängen des Buchdruckes, literarische Denkmäler, Belege aus der schriftlichen Exempel- oder Volksbuchtradition wurden in der Regel nur herangezogen, um Widerspiegelungen der Volksprosa in der Literatur aufzuzeigen, Kontinuitäten festzustellen oder das hohe Alter neuzeitlicher Erzähltypen zu beweisen. Diese Beurteilung mag zwar etwas pauschal klingen, aber wenn Sie diese Verallgemeinerung gestatten, so könnte man aufgrund dieser Tatsache den gewiß falschen Schluß ziehen, daß die Kongresse der ISFNR die Fiktion einer rein mündlichen Überlieferung aufrechterhalten wollen. Allerdings sind Fragen des Wechselverhältnisses von Literatur und Volksdichtung in diesem Rahmen tatsächlich nie sehr ernsthaft diskutiert worden. Die Organisatoren des diesjährigen Kongresses mögen diesen offensichtlichen Mangel in der bisher üblichen Themenstellung empfunden haben, als sie in ihrer Einladung neben den "Gesetzmäßigkeiten in den Volkserzählungen" und neben dem Schwank ein drittes Thema vorschlugen und zur Erforschung der "Volkserzählungen vor dem 18. Jahrhundert" anregten. Zu diesem Themenbereich soll hiermit ein kleiner Beitrag geleistet werden. Der Sinn des Referates ist die Erschließung neuer Quellen des 16.-18.Jahrhunderts für die deutsche Sagenforschung.

Auf diesem Gebiet der Quellenerschließung sind im letzten Jahrzehnt bedeutsame Fortschritte erzielt worden. Ich darf an die mustergültige Ausgabe Fränkischer Sagen durch J.Dünninger[1], an die Predigtmärlein von E.Moser-Rath[2], an die Neuedition der "Monathlichen Unterredungen Otto Grabens zum Stein" durch W.-E.Peuckert[3] oder an I.-M.Greverus' Bemühungen um die "Chronikerzählung" als Sagenquelle[4] erinnern. Leop. Schmidt hat daher mit Recht von einer "Historisierung der Erzählforschung" sprechen können[5]. Es harren jedoch auf diesem Gebiet noch zahlreiche Aufgaben der Bewältigung. Alle die genannten historischen Quellenbereiche wie Chronikwerke, Predigtsammlungen, Prodigienwerke, Kuriositätenliteratur

bieten uns allerdings heute keine "unmittelbaren" Zeugnisse für das Leben, für die Funktion der Sage im 16., 17.und 18. Jahrhundert, es sind lediglich Widerspiegelungen der im Volksmund umlaufenden Erzählungen, beeinflußt durch eine bestimmte Geisteshaltung der "Sammler" und Bearbeiter. Ein objektiveres Bild von der Volkssage früherer Jahrhunderte müßte sich ergeben, wenn es gelänge, Zeugnisse für die Sage als trivialen Massenlesestoff zu finden.

Der Buchdruck hat bekanntlich seit dem Beginn des 16.Jahrhunderts die Voraussetzungen für die massenhafte Verbreitung von Lesestoffen der verschiedensten Art geschaffen. Vereinfachend läßt sich sagen, daß der Buchdruck allen Bildungsschichten etwas gebracht hat: dem Gelehrten das Buch, dem Gebildeten die Flugschrift, dem Volk das Flugblatt.[6] Letzterem soll heute unsere besondere Aufmerksamkeit gelten. Die Frage ist: Gibt es im Bereich dieser Flugblattliteratur Belege für Volkssage? Wurde Sage zum Lesestoff, zur Trivialliteratur? Von Rudolf Schenda, der durch mehrere einschlägige Veröffentlichungen der Erzählforschung neuartiges Material zugeführt hat und den ich aus der generalisierenden Vorbemerkung zu diesem Referat ausdrücklich ausnehmen möchte, stammt der Satz: "Die Trivialliteratur besteht nicht nur aus Romanen!"[7] Mit Schenda müssen wir ihr auch sämtliche Kleinformen des Buchdruckes zurechnen, vom bescheidenen Andachtsbild oder Gebetszettel bis zur Erbauungsliteratur, vom Sensationsflugblatt bis zum Volksbuch, von der unterhaltsamen Prosaerzählung bis zu populären Lehr- oder Anstandsbüchern. In einem imaginären Museum hat Schenda solche "Kleinformen der Trivialliteratur aus sechs Jahrhunderten" zusammengestellt[8]. Wir greifen zwei der Schaukästen dieses Museums heraus und versuchen, in der sog. Informationsliteratur des 16.Jahrhunderts und im illustrierten Flugblatt des 17.Jahrhunderts Quellen zur deutschen Volkssage ausfindig zu machen.

Diese Flugblattliteratur ist Teil des gedruckten Tagesschrifttums. Sie ist der Vorgänger der später periodisch erscheinenden Zeitungen. Gemeinsam mit der Zeitung haben diese Drucke das Bedürfnis, ihre Leser mit den neuesten Nachrichten aus aller Welt zu versorgen und ihre Sensationsbegierde zu befriedigen. Wollte man einen Katalog der behandelten Themen aufstellen, so stünden darin - nach Häufigkeit geordnet - zunächst geschichtliche Ereignisse wie Kriege, Schlach-

ten, Regierungswechsel, Todesfälle von Herrschern, daneben aber Mißgeburten, Monstren, Tiermenschen, Himmelserscheinungen, Katastrophen und Mordfälle an der Spitze. Aber der Überblick über die Gesamterscheinung des frühen aktuellen Tagesschrifttums zeigt, daß es insgesamt kaum ein Tema gegeben hat, das von den Verlegern dieser fliegenden Blätter nicht aufgegriffen worden ist. - Die Produzenten - dem Rang nach etwa den heutigen Herstellern von Sensationsblättchen, illustrierten Zeitschriften usw. vergleichbar, - sahen ihre Aufgabe darin, die Neugierde, das Informationsbedürfnis ihrer Leser zu stillen und vor allem den Wunderhunger dieser Jahrzehnte zu befriedigen. Daher erwies sich ihnen thematisch auch die Volkssage als ergiebige Quelle. Vielleicht hat es auch in der damaligen Frühzeit des Journalismus Zeiten ohne auffällige spektakuläre Ereignisse gegeben, und in dieser "Sauregurkenzeit", um einen Ausdruck der heutigen Zeitungsschreiber zu gebrauchen, besann man sich auf die mündlich umlaufenden Erzählungen, die dem literarischen Rang nach auf der gleichen Stufe standen wie die üblichen Sensationsnachrichten; mit anderen Worten, Volkssage wurde in einzelnen Fällen literaturfähig, indem man sie durch Lokalisierung und Datierung zum wirklichen Ereignis stempelte. Das war um so leichter möglich, als sich Sage und Zeitungsnachrichten in Bezug auf ihr Verhältnis zur Wirklichkeit kaum unterscheiden: beide erheben Anspruch darauf, geglaubt zu werden. Dieses Tagesschrifttum, dessen Bedeutung für mehrere Wissenschaftszweige wie Literaturwissenschaft, Soziologie, Publizistik, Bibliothekswissenschaft und Volkskunde nicht hoch genug veranschlagt werden kann, wurde zur Zeit seiner Entstehung keineswegs so hoch geachtet. Es war für den Augenblick bestimmt, ging von Hand zu Hand und überdauerte die dargestellten Ereignisse kaum. Sammlungen wie die des Chorherrn Wick in Zürich sind von äußerster Seltenheit und unschätzbarem Wert. Was in öffentlichen oder privaten Sammlungen sonst auf uns gekommen ist, muß als mehr oder weniger zufällig betrachtet werden. Die Verluste auf diesem Gebiet der Gebrauchsliteratur sind außerordentlich hoch anzusetzen.[9] Am besten sind noch die illustrierten satirischen Blätter des 17.Jahrhunderts bezeugt, die W.A.Coupe in seinem Werk erfaßt hat.[10] Für die meisten anderen Bereiche dieser Flugblattdrucke trifft die Feststellung zu, daß in der Regel nur ein einziges Exemplar bekannt ist. Der Zeitraum, innerhalb dessen sich diese Zeitungsliteratur

entfaltet, reicht von etwa 1550 bis 1750. Der Beginn deckt sich demnach mit dem Erscheinen der ersten Prodigiensammlungen, in denen wir ähnliche Erzeugnisse zu ganzen Bänden kompiliert finden. Während jedoch die Prodigienbücher etwa mit dem Jahre 1670 zu verschwinden beginnen, leben die Einzeldrucke mit prodigiösem Inhalt noch fast ein ganzes Jahrhundert weiter. Das muß damit zusammenhängen, daß sich Prodigiensammlungen und Einblattdrucke mit Sensations- oder Wundermeldungen jeweils an ein anderes Leserpublikum wandten. Diese Frage wiederum läßt sich nur aufgrund der Kenntnis dieser Quellen selbst entscheiden, womit es an der Zeit ist, einige ausgewählte Beispiele im Lichtbild zu interpretieren.

Die ersten Beispiele haben mit Volkssage noch nicht viel zu tun. Es sind Bildbelege, die lediglich mit dem äußeren Erscheinungsbild dieser Flugblätter vertraut machen sollen.

① Wunderzeichen am Himmel über Nürnberg, 1605.
Form: Einseitig bedrucktes Blatt im Folioformat. Oben: Titel mit ausführlicher Inhaltsangabe, hier expressis verbis mit der Bezeichnung "Newe Zeitung", von der das Gesamtgebiet dieser Drucke seinen Namen bezogen hat. Dann folgt ein Holzschnitt, der später mitunter durch den Kupferstich ersetzt wird. In selteneren Fällen wurden die Holzschnitte von den Besitzern handkoloriert oder direkt von den Herstellern, den Briefmalern illuminiert. Der Text folgt unter dem Bild in mehrspaltiger Anordnung, am Ende finden sich Angaben über Druckort und Verlag, wobei eine gewisse Eigenwerbung der Erzeuger kenntlich wird (hier: Angabe der genauen Anschrift des Formschneiders Lucas Mayer "beym Rosenband").

② Ähnliches Geschehen wie bei ①, aber der Begleittext unter der Abb. ist in Form eines Gedichtes wiedergegeben. In vielen Fällen erscheint an dieser Stelle auch ein Lied. Äußerlich kenntlich sind diese Zeitungslieder[11] an den Tonangaben: meist ist der Text weltliche Kontrafaktur zu einem bekannten geistlichen Lied.

③ Mordgeschichte: Der Massenmörder Bäsi Endres in Wangen beseitigt seine ganze Familie und endet auf dem Rad. Augsburg 1585.

④ Einblattdruck auf die gleiche Mordgeschichte, Lindau 1585.

Außer diesem Bereich volkstümlicher Einblattdrucke habe ich für meine Untersuchungen zu den Quellen deutscher Volkssagen einen zweiten Bereich herangezogen, der vom ersten kaum zu unterscheiden ist: die Flugschriften im Oktavformat von 4,6,8, 12 oder mehr Seiten. Bei der Erfassung dieser Quellen habe ich darauf verzichtet, Drucke mit Prosatexten von solchen mit Liedtexten zu trennen. Die beabsichtigte Wirkung der Drucke dürfte in beiderlei sprachlicher Gestalt die gleiche gewesen sein. Es sind zahlreiche Stoffe bezeugt, die sowohl in Prosa- wie in Liedform vorliegen. Wir gehen davon aus, daß beide Formen gleichermaßen das Lese- oder Unterhaltungsbedürfnis einer trivialen Leserschichte befriedigten. Hermann Bausinger hat an den Drucken von der sog."Waldenburger Fastnacht" von u.a. 1570 gezeigt, daß kurze Zeit nach dem Verbot einer Liedflugschrift ein Einblattdruck mit Prosatext und großem "gemählde" im Umlauf war[12]. Eine ~~große~~ Unterscheidung zwischen Einblattdrucken und Flugschriften zu treffen,geht daher ~~ebenfalls~~ nicht an. Ein Unterschied ergibt sich allenfalls, wenn wir diese Drucke vom Bild her untersuchen.

Aus den bisher gezeigten Beispielen dürfte deutlich geworden sein, daß die Einblattdrucke oder Neuen Zeitungen nicht nur zum Lesen gedacht waren, sondern durch ihre Illustrationen auch zum Betrachten anreizten. Durch die Abbildungen konnten auch andere Bildungsschichten angesprochen werden, denen die Texte selbst verschlossen blieben. Auf einem Münchner Einblattdruck der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek (Einbl.V,8[iad]) ist diese Text-Bild-Relation mit folgenden treffenden Worten umschrieben:

> Was Glerte durch die Schrift verstahn,
> das lehrt das Gmähl den gmainen Mann!

Diesem "gemeinen Mann" wurde der Text beim Verkauf vorgelesen, die Lieder wurden vorgesungen. Er erwarb das Blatt und konnte anhand der Bilder auch ohne Verständnis des Textes das dargestellte Geschehen zu Haus nachvollziehen. Das war möglich, weil die Abbildungen mit dem Text korrespondierten. Da die frühen Zeitungsdrucke den Anschein erwecken wollten, daß sie sowohl aktuelle wie wahrheitsgetreue Information lieferten, wurde auf die graphische Gestaltung der Drucke großer Wert gelegt. Die Konsumenten dieser Flugblätter hatten ~~dazu~~ zudem ein wohl sehr viel intensiveres Verhältnis zu Wort und

Bild als wir. Sie lasen langsamer und ausdauernder, und sie besaßen eine "Sehfähigkeit den Bildern gegenüber, die diesen Bildern eine Art von Realität verliehen haben muß"... "Die Bilder aufzunehmen, muß für den meist noch schriftunkundigen damaligen Menschen etwas wie ein Lesen bedeutet haben"[13]. Die Abbildungen waren auf unseren Drucken so angeordnet, daß sich das dargestellte Geschehen parallel zum Wort verfolgen ließ. Schon die Größe der beigegebenen Bilder, oft die Hälfte oder zwei Drittel der Drucke einnehmend, deutet darauf hin, daß es sich um einen wesentlichen, nicht wegzudenkenden Bestandteil handelt, der mehr ist als ein zusätzlicher Kaufanreiz oder Blickfang. Hier begegnet uns so etwas wie "bildliches Erzählen", das darin bestand, daß in einer sog."kontinuierenden" Darstellung eine szenische Abfolge von Ereignissen innerhalb eines Bildes vereint war. Eine handelnde Person konnte innerhalb eines solchen Bildes mehrfach erscheinen. Die Szenen waren gewöhnlich von links nach rechts angeordnet. Dieses Darstellungsprinzip reicht in große historische Tiefen zurück und ist im volkstümlichen Flugblattdruck des 16.und 17.Jahrhunderts noch gut dokumentiert.

(5) Raubmord 1605. (Mörder in der Abb.oben links im gestreiften Kleid zweifach sichtbar).
(6) Besessenheit 1595 (Mann im blauen Hemd und Stiefeln wird durch den Genuß von Gänsefleisch rasend, bringt seine Frau durch Biß in die Kehle um und muß von drei Männern mit Stangen gebändigt werden).

(7)-(8) Sagenthema: Brotgeiz, 1602. Geiziger Bäcker in Elbing verweigert einer armen Witwe mit 3 Kindern Brot. Abb.rechts oben: Selbstmord der Witwe, Frau zweimal dargestellt). Abb.3: Brot wird zu Stein. Abb.4: Der Bäcker auf dem Fuhrwerk, vom Teufel geholt, zerrissen am Boden.
Der nächste Schritt in der graphischen Gestaltung dieser Blätter ist die Auflösung der Handlung in mehrere monoszenische Einzelbilder, in denen die handelnden Personen jeweils nur noch einmal auftreten. Das älteste Beispiel eines solchen voll ausgebildeten Bilderzyklus mit Begleittexten ist ein Einblattdrucke auf den Passauer Hostiendiebstahl von 1477, eine Legende vom Judenfrevel also, gedruckt 1495 bei Caspar Hochfelder[14].

9 Mordgeschichte - Quedlinburg/Sachsen 1621. Text: Lied. Monoszenische Einzelbilder mit kontinuierender Datsrellung gemischt: vgl.2.Reihe, mittleres Bild; letztes Bild (dreifache Darstellung des Mörders). - Züge der Volkssage in diesem Blatt: der Mörder Heinrich Rosenzweig handelt nicht aus eigenem Antrieb, sondern wird durch den Teufel zu seinen Untaten inspiriert (Bild 2).

(10) Mordgeschichte in Franken 1653. Bild 1: Der Teufel stiftet den Mörder an. Thema: Mord am eigenen Sohn, um die Heiratskosten zu sparen.

(11) Mordgeschichte 1652, gedruckt 1653. Beim Holzschnitt ist zuerst die 2.Reihe zu lesen, dann die erste.

(12) Detail von (11) : Holzschnittfolge.

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Die bisher vorgeführten Beispiele waren mit dem Thema meines Referates "Sagenthemen im deutschen Flugblattdruck" nur lose verknüpft. Aber von den bilderbogenartig gestalteten Mordgeschichten zu Sagenüberlieferungen ist es nur ein kleiner Schritt:

(13) Mordswirtshaus im Böhmerwald, gedruckt in Prag 1609. (Zusammenhagg mit anderen Sagen vom Mordswirtshaus?)

(14) Volkssage in Flugblattform liegt auch bei diesem Druck vor, dem Bericht von einem angeblich 1675 in Mieß in Böhmen von den Juden an einem Christenknaben begangenen Ritualmord[15]. Bildtechnik: Kupferstich. Das erste Bild befindet sich oben in der Mitte, bezeichnet mit A.

Mit den nächsten Bildzeugnissen soll ein kurzer Überblick über die verschiedenen im volkstümlichen Flugblattdruck auftretenden Sagenthemen gegeben werden. Wir finden z.B.

15 Sagenthema: Eine Frau ist vom Teufel besessen, wird der Hexerei beschuldigt und verurteilt.

16 Fastenwunder 1607. Einem Mädchen , das am Sonntag Flachs bricht, erscheint der Christusknabe. Das Mädchen fängt an, Speise und Trank zu verweigern und fastet sechs Jahre

17 Ähnliches Fastenwunder.

18 Teufel holt Pfaffenkellerin (Slg.Wick, Zürich). Gereimter

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Text. Wir können uns an diesem Beispiel gut vergegenwärtigen, auf welche Art dem Leser der Inhalt dieser "wunderbarlich seltzamen warhafftigen geschicht" nahegebracht wird. Schon im Titel des Blattes heißt es: "Ordenlich beschriben in reinens weiß/ vnd zu einer warnung allen frommen Mägdten oder Töchteren". Noch deutlicher wird die moralische Einstellung in den belehrenden Schlußworten:

Der Teufel für mit der Hürn sein straß
Den neohsten weg in Nobis hauß
Darmit ist diß geschicht auch auß,
Geschehen zů gůt allen Jungfrawen
Die solln in disen spiegel schawen
Vnd sich hůten vor den Pfaffen
Vnd nit vil mit jnen klaffen.
In summa jren mussig gan
Vnd Pfaffen Pfaffen bleiben lan
Das radt ich jnen in gůten treüwen
Thůnd sie es nit/wirt sies gereüwen
Mit deren farends in die hell
Darvor vns Gott bewaren woll.
H.W.V.S.

(d.i. Heinrich Wirry von Solothurn).

Die Erzählung von der Pfaffenkellerin dient hier als Warnsage; das Flugblatt wird als Spiegel bezeichnet, in den die Jungfrauen schauen sollen. Solche und ähnliche Themen in moralischer Einkleidung sind für das Flugblatt sehr bezeichnend. Aus dem Bereich der Volkssage wurden daher vor allem Stoffe übernommen, die sich ähnlich wie Exempel mit einer moralischen Nutzanwendung versehen ließen. Dazu ein weiteres Beispiel:

(19) Ein wunderbarliche Geschicht,/ von dreyen Studenten/was sie alle drey zu Mülhausen begangen haben/ vnd darob gericht worden 1573.

Allgemein läßt sich sagen, daß der Flugblattdruck für die Erzählforschung noch sehr unzureichend erschlossen ist. Wer Auskünfte über dieses Gebiet sucht, ist noch immer gezwungen, umfangreiche bibliographische Repertorien zu wälzen, um dann - oft nur durch Zufall - auf die ihn interessierenden Drucke mit Erzählthemen zu stoßen. Außerdem erfassen die uns vorliegenden Bibliographien von Weller, Goedeke, Drugulin u.a. bei weitem nicht alles vorhandene Material. Es fehlt uns ein thematisches Verzeichnis der Flugblattliteratur des 16.bis 18.Jhs., ein durch Motiv- und Ortsregister erschlossenes Nachschlagewerk,

das für den Erzählforscher von großem Nutzen sein könnte. Ein solches thematisches Verzeichnis der älteren Flugblattdrucke aus dem Bereich der Volkssage kann naturgemäß nicht das Werk eines Einzelnen sein; ein Team müßte sich zur Bewältigung dieser Aufgabe zusammenfinden und ähnliche Unternehmungen auch in anderen europäischen Ländern anregen. Schon Bolte beklagte die mangelnde Berücksichtigung der Flugblattliteratur durch die Literaturhistoriker[16], ohne daß er selbst Entscheidendes für Kenntnis der Zeitungsdrucke beitrug. Sein Interesse galt insbesondere dem Bilderbogen. Adolf Spamer hat 1935 die Aufstellung ähnlicher Themenkataloge für den Bilderbogen gefordert[17]; bisher ist diese Anregung offenbar nicht auf fruchtbaren Boden gefallen. Die Bilderbogenforschung hat merkwürdigerweise die Neuen Zeitungen mit ihren szenischen Bildfolgen nicht in die Betrachtung einbezogen, selbst wenn es sich um Themen der Volksüberlieferung handelte. Bei der Erforschung der Bilderbogen wurde der zwar international gültige aber thematisch begrenzte Kanon der Stoffe wie Altweibermühle oder menschliche Altersstufen kaum überschritten. Daher rührt es wohl, daß die bebilderten Zeitungsdrucke bisher nicht das erforderliche Interesse der Volkskunde und der Erzählforschung gefunden haben.

Mein Referat soll Ihnen einen ersten Überblick darüber vermitteln, welche Themen in einem zukünftigen Katalog der Neuen Zeitungen enthalten sein könnten. Wir finden u.a. viele Stoffe, die aus der europäischen Sagenliteratur gut bekannt sind. Auf die Flugblattzeugnisse hat man bisher wenig geachtet, vielleicht mit Ausnahme der "Sieben Schwaben" (20). Die Drucke des berühmten Nürnberger Bildermannes Paulus Fürst[18] bieten für unseren Zusammenhang einiges (21). (Weinsberger Weibertreue[19]). - Über den folgenden Einblattdruck (22) aus der Flugschriftensammlung Gustav Freytag Frankfurt a.M. hat Annemarie Brückner bereits gehandelt[20]. Der Druck behandelt die Geschichte von den Kindern, die Schlachtens spielen[21]. Das nächste Bild (23) ist ein besonders bemerkenswerter Fund, der mir im German.Nationalmuseum gelang. Der illustrierte Einblattdruck in der üblichen Form mit Titel, Holzschnitt und dreispaltigem Text stellt die berühmte Sage von der wiedererweckten Scheintoten Richmudis von Adocht dar. Besondere Bedeutung kommt diesem bisher unbekannten Druck aus folgen-

dem Grund zu: der Text ist in Liedform gehalten, das "In eygenem Thon zu singen" war. Dieses Zeitungslied war uns bisher nur aus mündlicher Überlieferung aus dem Rheinland bekannt. Bei der Veröffentlichung in der Balladenausgabe des Deutschen Volksliedarchivs[22] habe ich 1967 die Vermutung geäußert, daß eine Flugblattvorlage vorhanden gewesen sein muß. Diese Vermutung hat sich durch diesen Fund bestätigt. (24) : Detail der Abbildung. Zu den Warnsagen sind auch die Werwolfsagen zu rechnen, die verschiedentlich Eingang in die Flugblattliteratur gefunden haben.

(25) Werwolf verfolgt einen Mann, Neuses bei Ansbach 1685. Im Hintergrund als Wandschmuck ein zweites Bild, nämlich (26): Werwolf wird verfolgt, fällt bei dem Versuch, einen Hahn zu packen, in den Brunnen. Ansbach 1685. [23]

Es wäre ermüdend, den ganzen Komplex der Teufels- und Hexensagen vor Ihnen auszubreiten, der den Zeitungsschreibern Stoff für Hunderte von Drucken geliefert hat. Schottenlohers Vermutung, daß auch durch diese Erzeugnisse der Wunderglaube und Hexenwahn künstlich angeheizt und übersteigert wurde[24], besteht sicher zu recht.

Wichtig ist es aber, die sozialkritische Aussage vieler dieser Blätter hervorzuheben. Als erstes Beispiel dafür ein Blatt aus dem Jahre 1673, (27) die Verwandlung eines hartherzigen Steuereinnehmers in einen Hund, oder (28) das Schicksal des reichen Kornwucherers aus dem Schwarzwald, ein spätes Blatt aus dem Jahre 1791. Der Kupferstich zeigt den Kornwucherer im Bett liegend, von Würmern zerfressen, während seine prall gefüllten Kornsäcke von Hunden und Würmern verzehrt werden.

Diesen Blättern mit sozialkritischem Einschlag stehen eine ganze Reihe anderer Flugblattdrucke gegenüber, die man als Wundererzählungen bezeichnen kann. Ich greife die Sagen vom Wunderregen heraus, um an den folgenden Bildbeispielen zu zeigen, daß sich innerhalb der Neuen Zeitungen eigene Traditionsketten gebildet haben. Wundererzählungen von göttlichen Gaben, von unerhört fruchtbaren Getreideähren, von riesigen Weintrauben und Mehlbergen sind in den regionalen deutschen Sagensammlungen des 19.und 20.Jhs. nicht mehr sehr häufig anzutreffen, allenfalls noch in Verbindung mit Frevelerzählungen

als Begründung für das Verschwinden der göttlichen Segnungen. Dieses Bild verschiebt sich aber, sobald wir einen Blick in die vom Wunderglauben beherrschte Kuriositätenliteratur werfen, die Prodigiensammlungen heranziehen oder unsere Flugblattliteratur auswerten. Besonders im volkstümlichen Flugblattdruck ist dieser Themenkreis oft und immer wieder neu behandelt worden. Die nachfolgenden Zeugnisse, die auf Vollständigkeit keinen Anspruch erheben, sollen zeigen, wie intensiv sich die Drucker dieser Wundergeschichten bemächtigten und wie gut es ihnen gelang, diese Erzählungen ihren Lesern nahezubringen. (29) Eine Neuhe Wunderbare vnnd Warhafftige geschicht/von einen// Weintrauben/ welcher sich durch Cottes Segen wunderbarlich erzeyget hat. Geschehen Anno LXXVII (1577). (30) Wehlberg im Anhaltischen. Slg.Freytag Frankfurt/M. (31) Kornregen in Sorau/Schlesien 1531. Ein schönes detailreiches Blatt, das sicher erst dem 17.Jh. angehört, sich aber auf ein früheres Ereignis bezieht, das alle Chroniken in das Jahr 1531 gelegt wird. Aus einer schlesischen Chronik ist die Nachricht von diesem Wunderereignis auch in die lokalgeschichtliche Literatur und von dort in Haupt "Sagenbuch der Lausitz"[25] und in Kühnau "Schlesische Sagen"[26] übergegangen. (32) Detail von (31).

Der Kornregen in Sorau 1531 eröffnet eine ganze Traditionskette weiterer Wunderregen, die sich in immer rascherer Aufeinanderfolge in den verschiedensten Teilen Deutschlands ereignet haben sollen. Oft liegen von einem und demselben Ereignis mehrere Drucke vor, z.B. von einem Getreideregen in Kärnten 1550: (33) Klagenfurt. Kolorierter Druck Slg.Wick. Im gleichen Jahr Lokalisierung eines fast gleichen Ereignisses in Weimar und Auerstädt (34). Zwanzig Jahre später soll ein solcher Getreideregen in Zwispalen in Oberösterreich, in Ried in Bayern und in der Grafschaft Ortenburg vorgekommen sein: (35) Bebilderter Einblattdruck Augsburg, Michael Mangel, 1570. (36) gleiches Blatt aus Nürnberg, 37 Detail. Ein anderer Drucker, Peter Hug in Straßburg in S.Barbel gassen, will sich dieses denkwürdige Ereignis nicht entgehen lassen und vertreibt ein eigenes Blatt. Den Holzschnitt läßt er dem Augsburger Druck nachschneiden, den Text übernimmt er Wort für Wort: (38) (zuerst Holzschnitte-Detail), dann (39) ganzes Blatt. Der Formschneider Christoffel Schwytzer in Zürich bringt das gleiche Ereignis wieder in einem anderen, sehr

Reales Ausgangspunkt für diese Wundersagen sind die wohl alljährlich in gewissen Gegenden zu findenden Früchte der Erdnuß (Lathyrus tuberosus). Die kleinen braunen, inwendig weißen Körner werden im Volksmund manchenorts Manna genannt und man glaubt daran, diese Körner seien vom Himmel gefallen.

schön gestalteten Einblatt: (40). Ein Jahr später ist ein Lied im Umlauf, das einen in Schlesien lokalisierten Korn-, Weizen-, Erbsen- und Rüben(!)regen beschreibt: (41). Auch dieser Wunderregen hat sich in die gleichzeitige Chronikliteratur Eingang gefunden[27]. Es dauert nur zehn Jahre, bis ein neuer Fall von wunderbarem Kornregen in den Zeitungsdrucken die Runde macht: diesmal soll sich das Ereignis in Westerhausen in der Mark Brandenburg abgespielt haben: (42) Warhafftige neuwe Zeytung. Der Chronist nennt am Schluß des dreispaltig gedruckten Gedichtes seinen Namen: Ambrosius Wetz. Er zählt in diesem Gedicht alle Fälle von Getreideregen auf, die ihm bekannt geworden sind, und selbstverständlich sind auch ihm diese Ereignisse göttliche Wunderzeichen, die er folgendermaßen deutet:

Das sol vns billich s Hertz bewegen
Was vns bedeudte dis Korn Regnen
Das spurdt man recht in aller massen
Das Gott wolt keinen nicht verlassen.

Der Chronist vermerkt auch als besondere Eigenschaft des vom Himmel gefallenen Korns, daß es eine dicke Haut besaß und vom Vieh verschmäht wurde. Er schließt daraus, daß dieses Wunderkorn allein für die Menschen bestimmt war. (43) Detail. Ambrosius Wetz hat nicht nur den Text zu dem Einblattdruck geliefert, sondern auch noch ein Lied im Ton "Ach Gott thu dich erbarmen" verfaßt, das er im gleichen Jahr als Flugschrift von 8 Seiten hinausgehen ließ: (44). Einen Urheberrechtsschutz für diese Druckerzeugnisse gab es bekanntlich früher nicht. Den Abschluß dieser Reihe bildet ein Raubdruck, den Johan Beck in Erffurt aufgrund des Waldeschen Blattes mit dem Gedicht von Wetz herausgehen ließ: (45).

* * *

Eine abschließende Frage muß dem Verhältnis von Flugblattdruck und Volkssage gelten. Eine Beantwortung kann keinesfalls pauschal erfolgen, da sich das Problem in den verschiedenen der Geschichte dieser Drucke und auch bei den verschiedenen Erzeugern anders stellt. Zunächst können wir die Sagen auf den bebilderten Flugblättern des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts durchaus als die Vorgänger der heutigen Zeitungssagen [28] bezeichnen, d.h. es handelt sich um Themen aus dem Bereich der Volks-

sage mit starkem Wirklichkeitsbezug, mitunter auch nur um sensationelle Ereignisse, die mit Zügen aus der Welt des Aberglaubens und der Sage versehen werden. In der Einstellung der Verleger zur Volksüberlieferung ist eine wichtige Unterscheidung zu treffen, die man als passive und aktive Anteilnahme umschreiben kann. Beim rein rezeptiven Verhalten stellt sich der Verleger lediglich in den Dienst der mündlich umlaufenden Erzählungen, indem er sie thematisch unverändert und allenfalls graphisch individuell gestaltet in den Druck übernimmt (Beispiele: Weiber von Weinsberg, 7 Schwaben usw.). Ein aktives Interesse der Produzenten liegt vor, wenn Sagen durch Lokalisierung und Datierung gegenwartsnah frisiert und in den Dienst pädagogischer Interessen eingespannt werden. Wir sprachen in diesem Fall von Warnsagen. Schließlich haben wir die Erfahrung machen können, daß sich manche Verleger nicht mit der Übernahme und Bearbeitung sagenmäßiger Überlieferungen begnügten, sondern durch Erfindung von Wundererzählungen oder durch Erneuerung älterer Druckerzeugnisse selbst Traditionen stifteten. Wir haben in den Erzählungen vom Kornregen einen solchen Zyklus von Zeitungsdrucken zum gleichen Thema kennengelernt und dürfen annehmen, daß diese Flut von Drucken nicht ohne Einfluß auf die mündliche Tradition der Zeit geblieben sein wird. Überhaupt gilt für alle diese Druckerzeugnisse, daß wir mit einer nicht zu unterschätzenden Rückwirkung zu rechnen haben, selbst wenn wir von dem Niederschlag in der Volksüberlieferung der Zeit noch sehr wenig wissen. Die seit dem Beginn des 19.Jahrhunderts erscheinenden Sagensammlungen spiegeln jedenfalls die Welt der Wunderberichte nur noch sehr unvollkommen, da Aufklärung und rationales Denken inzwischen diesen "Warhafftigen Neuen Zeitungen" längst den Lebensboden entzogen haben. – Der Sinn meines Referates war es, auf diesen älteren Quellenbereich hinzuweisen und darauf aufmerksam zu machen, daß die historische Sagenforschung auch die Erzeugnisse der Trivialliteratur mitberücksichtigen sollte, selbst wenn es sich dabei um Erzeugnisse aus den "Flegeljahren der Zeitung"[29] handelt. Neben das in der Forschung seit langem bekannte Flugblattlied[30], neben das von Kurt Ranke entdeckte Flugblattmärchen[31] tritt damit die Flugblattsage als ein gewichtiges Bindeglied zwischen Literatur und Volksdichtung, eine bisher wenig beachtete literarische Existenzform[32] der Sage.

Anmerkungen

[1] Josef Dünninger, Fränkische Sagen vom 15. bis zum Ende des 18. Jhs., 2. Aufl. Kulmbach 1964 (Die Plassenburg, 19).

[2] Elfriede Moser-Rath, Predigtmärlein der Barockzeit, Berlin 1964 (Supplement-Serie zu Fabula Reihe A, 5).

[3] Will-Erich Peuckert, Die Sagen der Monathlichen Unterredungen Otto von Grabens zum Stein, Berlin 1961

[4] Ina-Maria Greverus, Die Chronikerzählung, in: Volksüberlieferung. Festschrift für Kurt Ranke, Göttingen 1968, S.37-80.

[5] Leopold Schmidt, Vor einer neuen Ära der Sagenforschung, in Österreichische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde 68 (1965) S.53, wiederabgedruckt in Vergleichende Sagenforschung, hrsg. von Leander Petzoldt, Darmstadt 1969 (Wege der Forschung, 152) S.348ff. Darin auch der Satz: "Die Möglichkeiten der Verbreitung von Volksüberlieferungen auf anderen als den meisten Aufzeichnern geläufigen volksmündlichen Wegen sind bedeutend umfangreicher als man glauben möchte".

[6] Hans Fehr, Massenkunst im 16. Jahrhundert aus der Sammlung Wickiana, Berlin 1924 (Denkmale der Volkskunst, 1), S.3.

[7] Rudolf Schenda, Die Bibliothèque Bleue im 19. Jahrhundert, in: Studien zur Trivialliteratur, hrsg. von H.O. Burger, Frankfurt a.M. 1967, S.137.

[8] Rudolf Schenda, Kleinformen der Trivialliteratur aus sechs Jahrhunderten, in: Beiträge zur deutschen Volks- und Altertumskunde 10 (1966) S.49-66.

[9] v. Erffa, Art Einblattdruck im Reallexikon der deutschen Kunstgeschichte Bd.4 schätzt die Verluste auf das 200fache de heute noch Vorhandenen.

[10] William A. Coupe, The German Illustrated Broadsheet in the 17th Century, 2 Bde. Baden-Baden 1966-67 (Bibliotheca Bibliographica Aureliana, 17 u. 20).

[11] Erich Seemann, Newe Zeitung und Volkslied, in: Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung 3 (1932) 87-119.

[12] Hermann Bausinger, Volkssage und Geschichte (Die Waldenburger Fastnacht), in: Württembergisch Franken 41 (1957) S.6f.

[13] Lilli Fischel, Bilderfolgen im frühen Buchdruck. Studien zur Inkunabel-Illustration in Ulm und Straßburg, Konstanz und Stuttgart 1963, S.7f.; vgl. auch Hildegard Kloss, Publizistische Mittel in Einblattdrucken bis 1550, Diss. Berlin 1942, S.6; Willy Stiewe, Das Bild als Nachricht, Berlin 1933 (Zeitung und Zeit, 5), S.22; Edith Nomckemann, Der Einblattholzschnitt des 15.Jahrhunderts, Bottrop 1940, S.27.

[14] Georg Liebe, Das Judentum in der deutschen Vergangenheit, Leipzig 1903 (Monographien z.dt.Kulturgeschichte), Beilage 2 nach S.20; vgl. Kloss, Publ.Mittel a.a.O. Abb.24 und Karl Schottenloher, Flugblatt und Zeitung, Berlin 1922 (Bibliothek für Kunst- und Antiquitätensammler,21) S.188.

[15] Dieser Fall ist nach W.-E.Peuckert, Art.Ritualmord in HdA Bd.7 (1935/36) Sp.731/738 sogar in die AASS eingegangen.

[16] Johannes Bolte, Bilderbogen des 16.Jhs., in: Tijdschrift v.Nederl.Taal- en Letterkunde 14 (1895) S.119ff.

[17] Adolf Spamer, Arbeitsstand und Problemstellungen der deutschen Bilderbogenforschung, in: Volkskunde-Arbeit. Festschrift für Otto Lauffer, Berlin 1935, S.109-132.

[18] Theodor Hampe, Paulus Fürst und sein Kunstverlag, in: Mitt.d.German.Nat.Museums 1914/15, S.55ff.

[19] Grimm, Deutsche Sagen Nr.493; vgl.Rudolf Krauß, Die Weiber von Weinsberg im Drama, in: Lit.Beilage z.Staatsanzeiger für Württemberg 1922, S.153-159; Richard Lauxmann, Weinsberg im Munde der Dichter und Sänger, 2.Aufl.Weinsberg 1930.

[20] Annemarie Brückner, Volkstümliche Erzählstoffe auf Einblattdrucken der Gustav Freytag-Sammlung, in: Zs.f.Vk.57 (1961) S.230-238, s.S.233f. u.Abbil.1.

[21] Bolte-Polívka III, S.383ff., zu KHM Nr.22a.

[22] Deutsche Volkslieder mit ihren Melod[illegible]lladen Bd.5, Freiburg i.Br. 1967, S.237-241, Nr.1.

[23] vgl.Dünninger, Fränk.Sagen a.a.O. Nr.42.

[24] vgl.Schottenloher, Flugblatt u.Zeitung a.a.O. S.188

[25] Karl Haupt, Sagenbuch der Lausitz Bd.1, Görlitz 1862, S.258

26 Richard Kühnau, Schlesische Sagen Bd.3, Leipzig und Berlin 1913, S.448, Nr.1824.

27 Kühnau a.a.O. Bd.3, S.451f., Nr.1830

28 Hermann Bausinger, Strukturen des alltäglichen Erzählens, in: Fabula 1 (1959) S.239-254, s.S.249f.; Walter Anderson, Volkserzählungen in Tageszeitungen, in: Rhein.Jb. f.Vk. 10 (1959) S.163-175; ders., Volkserzählungen in Tageszeitungen und Wochenblättern, in: Humaniora. Essays in literature, folklore, and bibliography, honoring Archer Taylor, New York 1960, S.58-68.

29 Nach einem Ausdruck von Alfred Weitnauer, Der schwäbischen Presse Kinderstube und Flegeljahre, in: Die 7 Schwaben 1 (1950.51) S.290-298.

30 Die Literatur zu diesem Gegenstand ist so reichhaltig, daß es zwecklos wäre, hier willkürlich einen Titel herauszugreifen. Grundsätzliche Äußerungen sind selten, vgl. etwa Leop.Schmidt, Das Flugblattlied, in: Geistige Arbeit 6 (1939) Nr.16, S.1-2.

31 Kurt Ranke, Schleswig-holsteinische Volksmärchen Bd.3, Kiel 1962 (Veröff.d.Schlesw.-holst.Universitätsges. NF. 30), S.219f., 373ff. - Der Sammelband mit Jahrmarktsdrucken in der Plöner Gymnasialbibliothek, aus dem Kurt Ranke schöpfte, ist leider nicht mehr aufzufinden. Es handelte sich um die üblichen Moritatendrucke mit Prosatexten und Liedern, die auch in anderen Bibliotheken in ausreichender Menge gesammelt sind (LB Oldenburg, Museum für hamburgische Geschichte). Eine Auswertung dieser "Flugblattmärchen" für die Erzählforschung steht noch aus.

32 Gisela Burde-Schneidewind, Zur Frage der folkloristischen und literarischen Sagentradition, in: Lětopis Reihe C 11/12 (1968/69) S.27-37.

Anhang: ~~Verzeichnis~~ Beschreibung der ~~beschriebenen~~ besprochenen Drucke.

1. Newe Zeitung/ // Von einem erschröcklichen Wunderzeichen/ welches sich in// diesem 1605.Jahr den 7.Novembris/ zu abend vmb 6.vhrn/ vnnd die gantze Nacht über/ // am Himmel hat sehen lassen/ da sich der Himmel Blut vnd Fewerroth/ mit schönen weissen hin vnd wider// schiessenden Strahlen erzeigt hat. [Holzschnitt, koloriert: Menschen vor einer ummauerten Stadt, darüber feuriges Himmelszeichen]. Darunter zweispaltiger Prosatext. Am Ende: Gedruckt zu Nürnberg/ bey Lucas Mayer/ Formschneider/wohnhafft beym Rosenbad. Quelle: Zeyttungen! Zeyttungen! Zeyttungen!, Hamburg 1959, Nr.18.

2. Newe Zeytung.// Anno M.D.LXXII. den zwey vnnd zwentzigsten// Decembris/ ist diß erschrockenlich wunderzeichen an dem Himmel/ zů nacht vmb neun vnd// zehen vhr/ zů Schärmengy jhm Rossenfelder thal/ ein meil wegs von Beffort/ xxx... gesehen worden... [kolorierter Holzschnitt: Dorf, darüber Himmelszeichen]. Darunter Lied mit 5 Str. : WAch auff wach auff, du Teütschesland... Am Ende: Getruckt durch Wilhelm Berck/ von Göllen wonhafft zů Franckfurt am Mayn. Zentralbibl.Zürich F 22, 204, Nr.31.

3. Ein Erschröckliche vnerhörte Newe Zeyttung/ von einem grausamen// Mörder/ der an seinemaygen fleysch vnd blůt/ vnd gantzem Haußgesindt verzweyflet ist/ mit namen Blasi En-//dres... Geschehen den// 9.tag Augusti/ im Jar 1585... [kolorierter Holzschnitt: Mordszenen und Hinrichtung]. Darunter zweispaltiger Prosatext. Am Ende: Gedruckt zu Augspurg/ in verlegung Hans Kampff=// von Pfaffenhausen. Zentralbibl.Zürich F 33, 254

4. Ein warhafftige Erschreckliche geschicht so sich newlich// zu Wangen durch einen Burger daselbst mit Namen Blasius Endras so ein Gerichts// Herr gewesen/zugetragen. [Kolorierter Holzschnitt: vier Mordszenen]. Darunter einspaltiger Prosatext. Am Ende: Gemalt durch Dauid Vl Brieffmaler von Höchstett/ jetzt// Drommeter zu Lindauw. M.D.LXXXV. Zentralnibl.Zürich F 33, 210.

5. Eygentlicher/warhafftiger vnd gründlicher Bericht/ Was für Vrtheil vnd Recht Friderich Kersten außgestanden hat/ wie er nemlich den 2.Tag Augusti dises 1605.Jars/auff freyem Marckt/ // zu Hall in Sachsen... gestrafft. [Holzschnitt: Mord und Hinrichtung]. Darunter Gedicht in vier Spalten und Prosa in zwei Spalten. Am Ende: Zu Augspurg/ bey Jeremias Gath Brieffmaler/in Jacober Vorstatt/im Ferbhoff. GNM Nürnberg Kas.1373, H.B.3082.

6. Newe Zeitung// Eins Erschröcklichen vnd leidigen fälls/ so zu Illdorf// in Bayren nahent bey Rayn gelegen/ mit einer Ganß vnd zweyen Eheleuten sich begeben vnd// zugetragen hat/ geschehen im Monat Januarij Anno 1595. [Holzschnitt: Mann fängt eine Gans im Wasser, bereitet sie mit seiner Frau zu, wird tollwütig und muß von drei Männern mit Stangen gebändigt werden]. Darunter zweispaltiger Prosatext. Am Ende: Zu Augspurg bey Caspar Krebs Brieffmaler in Jacober Vorstatt. Quelle: Zeyttungen! a.a.O. Nr.12.

7-8. Warhafftige/ Erbärmliche vnd auch erschröckliche newe Ney-//tung/ so sich Anno 1602. an der Herren Faßnacht bey Elbing in Preussen/ in einem Flecken// Schwartza genandt/ mit einer armen Wittfrawen sampt jren drey kleinen Kinden/ sampt eim Becken einem argen Geitzhals// begeben vnd zugetragen/ in Gesang weiß gestelt/ Jm Thon: Kompt her zu mir spricht Gottes Sohn/x. [Holzschnitt: Brotverweigerung an die Frau mit vier Kindern, Selbstmord der Frau mit ihren Kindern, Brot wird zu Stein, der Geizhals vom Teufel in der Luft zerrissen]. Darunter Lied in 3 Spalten: ACH Gott in deinem höchsten Thron... Am Ende: Getruckt zu Dantzig/ bey Jabob Roden/ 1602. Staatsbibl.Bamberg/VI.H.9.

9. Warhafftige Zeitung/ // So niemals erhört/weil die Welt gestanden/ welche sich// begeben zu Quedelburg in Sachsen mit einem Becken/ mit Namen Heinrich Rosenzweig/wel-//cher durch deß Teuffels List vnd Rath sein Weib vnd 6.Kinder jämmerlicher weise vmbgebracht... geschehen den 2 Tag Jenner dises 1621.Jahrs/ Gesangsweiß gestellet/ // Im Thon/ Warumb betrübst du dich mein Hertz. [Holzschnitt: Bildfolge mit 9 Einzelbildern, Mord und Hinrichtung darstellend]. Darunter Liedtext zweispaltig: MEin Mund der singt/mein Hertz betrübt.. Das ander Lied...: O JEsu Gottes Lämmelein... Am Ende: Getruckt zu Erfurt/ bey Jacob Singen. Staatsbibl.Bamberg VI. G.108.

1o. Newe Zeittung vnd// Warhafftige erzehlung/ welcher gestalt ein reicher Bawr/ deß Namens Bernhard Kuntz zu Itzenhausen / ein Meyl von Jagsdorff/ im Mergenthaler// Gebiet gelegen/ drey seiner Leibeignen Söhn/ den 2.Nouembris im 16o2. Jar/ jämerlich ermordet/ er auch seiner Missethat halber/ jn// Mergethal/ mit dem Raad hingerichtet worden. [Holzschnitt, koloriert: 5 Einzelbilder mit Mord und Hinrichtung]. Darunter zweispaltiger Prosatext. Am Ende: Zu Augspurg/ bey Hans Rogel Brieffmaler vnd Formschneider/ an dem Karren gaßlin. Quelle: Zeyttungen! a.a.O. Nr.14.

11.-12. Warhafftige Beschreibung von einer schröcklichen Mordthat/ so geschehn 1652. am grünen Donnerstag in der Neisischen Herr-// schaft wie Georg Stange ein Leyrermann aus Mähren sein schwanger Weib... ermordet vnnd xxxxxxx vmbge-//bracht... in einem Gesang verfasset/ alles in seinem Thon. [Holzschnitt, bestehend aus 9 Einzelbildhhan, Mord und Hinrichtung darstellend]. Darunter zweispaltiges Lied: O Mensch steh ab von deiner Sünd... Dabey ein schönLied. WOl dem Menschen der sein Seel.... Am Ende: Gedruckt zu der Neiß/ bey Johann Schubert/ 1653. Staatsbibl.Bamberg VI.G.111.

12. Warhafftige vnd zuuor vnerhörte newe Zeitung/so sich im Böhmerwaldt/ in einem Wirtzhauß zum // Stock begeben... Wie ein Metzger vnnd ein Nachrichter vngefahr auff der Strassen zusammen kommen/// in disem Wirtzhaus einkehrt/ der Wirt aber ein Mörder sampt neun seiner Gesellen/dise zwen ermörden wollen/wie sie von Gott wunderbarlich errett... wer jhr// im Gesang vernemen/geschehen Anno 16o9. Im Thon: Hilff Gott daß mir gelinge. [kolorierter Holzschnitt: Bilderfolge mit vier Einzelbildern, endend mit der Hinrichtung]. Darunter dreispaltiger Liedtext. Am Ende: Erstlich gedruckt zu Prag. Quelle: Zeyttungen a.a.O. Nr.9.

14. Warhaffte Abbildung der grausamen Mordthat/so die Juden bey Mieß in Böh-//men an einem 4 Jährigen Christen-Knäblein verübet/ und wie solche offenabhret worden.// Geschehen den 12 Martij/Anno 1675. [Kupferstich mit neun Einzelbildchen, Mord Gefangennahme, Hinrichtung darstellend]. Darunter dreispaltiger Lie.text und "Erklärung deß Kupffers". o.O.u.J. Staatsbibliothek Bamberg VI.G.113.

15. Warhaffte Historische Abbild: vnd kurtze Beschreibung/

was sich vnlangst in// deß Heyl: ReichsStatt Augspurg/ mit einer ledigen/von einem stummen Teuffel besessen Weibspersohn/vnd jhren zweyen zaube-//rischen Warterinnen zugetragen/auch wie endtlich durch sonderbahre schickung Gottes alles offenbar worden/ vnd dahero mit// verwunderung erschröcklich anzuhören ist. [Holzschnittfolge mit 15 Einzelbildern: Verhör und Hinrichtung der Hexe]. Darunter dreispaltiger Prosatext. Am Ende: Zu Augspurg bey Elias Wöllhöfer den ältern/ Brieffmahler im Pfaffengäßl. Herzog-August-Bibl.Wolfenbüttel.

16. Warhafftige Beschreibung/ // Von einer Jungfrawen/die jetzt vergangen Michaelis sechs// gantzer Jahr/ keiner Speiß noch Tranck genossen/auch nicht arbeit oder schaffet... [Holzschnitt: 3 Einzelszenen]. Darunter dreispaltiges Lied HOrt zu jhr frömen Christenleut...- Am Ende:-rstlich gedruckt zu Bern/ in Schweitzerland/Im Jahr 1607. GNM Nürnberg Kaps.1292a, H.B.796.

17. Eine vberaus wunderliche Historia vnd Geschichte/wie // Gott der Herrn in vorgangnem vnd jetzigem 74.Jare/ ein junges Megdelein/ohn// speise vnd tranck/ etzliche Monden lang/beim leben erhalten hat vnd noch erhalten thuth [kolorierter Holzschnitt: Mädchen in einem Zimmer, im Hintergrund ein Vogel]. Darunter zweispaltiger Text. Am Ende: Erstlich Gedruckt zu Dortmund. Zentralbibl.Zürich Pas II 11, Nr.5

18. Ein wunderbarliche seltzame warhafftige geschicht=// von einem Pfaffen vnd seiner Kellerin/ wie jm sie der Teufel angesicht seiner augen//hin weg fürt. Ordenlich beschriben in ~~reimens~~ reimens weiß/vnd zů einer warnung//allen frommen Mägdten oder Töchteren. [kolorierter Holzschnitt: Teufel holt Pfaffenkellerin, links der Pfaffe]. Daneben und darunter dreispaltiges Gedicht. Am Ende: H.W.V.S. o.O.u.J. Zentralbibl.Zürich Pas II,1, Nr.1 (defektes Blatt).

19. Ein wunderbarliche Geschicht/von dreyen Studenten/was// sie alle drey zu Mülhausen begangen haben/ vnd darob Gericht worden/ // in disem 1573.Jar/ den 25.Januarij. [Holzschnitt, koloriert: Drei Gestalten als Tod, Teufel und Engel verkleidet erschrecken zechende Gesellschaft]. Darunter vierspaltiges Gedicht. o.O.u.J. Zentralbibl.Zürich Pas II 13, Nr.22.

20. Die hoch vnd wolbekandte Historia/ // Von den Sieben frommen vnd redlichen Schwab-// ben mit dem Hasen/in gut Schwäbischer Bauren-Sprach= // in Reimen gestellt/wie folgt:// [Darunter Holzschnitt: die 7 Schwaben] Darunter: Gedicht in 3

21. Die Weiber-Treu// Der Frauen zu Weinsberg.// Zusingen nach der Weise: Amarintha/die ich hasse/ x. [Kupferstich: Frauen tragen ihre Männer aus der belagerten Burg]. Darunter dreispaltiges Lied: "Lasset uns ein Liedlein singen..." 12 Str. Am Ende: Zufinden in Nürnberg/ bey Paulus Fürsten/ Kunsthändlern. Herzog August-Bibl.Wolfenbüttel.

22. Einblattdrucke ohne Titel: 6 Kupferstiche mit darüberschriebenem, 2-4zeiligen Texten. Stadt- und UB Frankfurt a.M., Slg.Gustav Freytag. 1. Bildüberschrift: Wie der Bauer die Saw schlacht vnd seine 2 Kinder im freisig zu sehen.

23-24. Ein neues Lied von dem warhafften Geschicht/so sich vor dreyhundert// Jahren in Cöllen am Neumarck auff dem Kirchhoff zu Sanct Apostolen hat zugetragen/ // da die Fraw vom Dodt auß dem Grab stehet. [Holzschnitt: Totengeleite, Flucht des Totengräbers, Auferstehung der Frau im weißen Gewand]. Darunter dreispaltiges Lied mit 10 Str. ALl wer will hören ein neues Lied... In eygenem Thon zu singen. Am Ende: Gedruckt in diesem Jahr/1735. GNM Nürnberg Kaps.1283a, H.B.800.

25. Einblattdruck: Ein angeblich 1685 in Neuses in der Markgrafschaft Onolzbach aufgetretener Werwolf [Kupferstich: Wolf auf den Hinterbeinen gehend mit weißem Umhang verfolgt Menschen mit brennender Kerze in der Hand. Im Hintergrund weiterer Einblattdruck als Wandschmuck]. Eugen Diederichs, Deutsches Leben in der Vergangenheit Bd. 1, Jena 1908, S.120, Abb.403.

26. Einblattdruck: Waarhaftige Begebenheit! Mit einem verbannten Wolff welcher im 1685sten Jahr im Marggrafthum Onolzbach etliche Kinder weggetragen und gefressen [Kupferstich: Wolf verfolgt einen Han und fällt in einen Brunnen]. bey Georg Iacob Schneider, Kupfferstecher zu finden. E.Diederichs a.a.O. Bd.1, S.120, Nr.404.

27. Erschröckliche Wunder-Verwandelung/ //Eines Menschen in einen Hund/ // im untergesetzten Kupfer-Blat abgebildet// und// Von bewehrter Hand beschrieben/ Im Jahr// Christi/ 1673. [Kupferstich: Wolf mit Menschenkopf, im Hintergrund Landschaft mit Pferdefuhrwerken usw.]. Darunter zweispaltiger Prosatext, vierzeiliger Reim und Erklärung des Kupfers. ~~Endex~~ Diederichs a.a.O. Bd.1, Abb. 413.

28. Einblattdruck: Oben Kupferstich: Mann im Bett liegend, von Würmern zerfressen, daneben Beichtvater, drei Menschen als Zuschauer, Getreidesäcke, im Wolkenloch Justitia. Darunter: Schaudervolle Begebenheit, welche sich mit einem Kornwucherer, Namens//Jakob Großmann, zu Vollmannsorf, unweit Rothweil im Schwarzwalde// zugetragen. Von einem Augenzeugen beschrieben, und geschehen// im Jahre 1791. Darunter zweispaltiger Prosatext. Am Ende: Mit Erlaubniß der Obern. o.O.u.J. GNM Nürnberg Kaps. 137o, H.B.19642.

29. Eine Neuhe Wunderbare vnnd Warhafftige geschicht/von einem// Weintrauben/ Welcher sich durch Gottes Segen wunderbarlich erzeyget hat. Geschehen Anno L.XXVII. [kolorierter Holzschnitt: Vier Männer und ein Kind vor einem Weinstock, im Hintergrund Stadt und Berge]. Darunter vierspaltiges Gedicht. Am Ende: Gedruckt zu Nürnberg/ durch Alexander Pfeiffer. Zentralbibl.Zürich F 26, Nr.182.

30. Einblattdruck: Kupferstich mit Mehlberg, Fuhrwerk, Menschen mit Säcken, Schubkarren usw. Auf Schriftband im Himmel: Vorstellung deß in Anhaldischen// ohnfern Roßwick entdeckte Mehl-Berg. o.O.u.J. Stadt- u.UB Frankfurt a.M., Slg.Gustav Freytag.

31. Einblattdruck: Kupferstich mit Kornregen in Sorau. [Sehr belebte Szene mit zahlreichen detaillierten Darstellungen]. Darunter: Wunderbarliche Vorsicht u.Allmacht Gottes welches die Gräfliche Promnithische Stadt Sorau ... am 18. MonathsTag Julii erfahren... Stadt- u.UB Frankfurt a.M., Slg.Gustav Freytag.

32. Detail aus 31.

33. Ein wunderbarlich vnd Warhafft geschehen Wunderwerck// wie inn Kernten/ inn dem M D L. Jahr/ nach Christus geburt/ an dem XXIII. tag/ // Martij/ Korn von dem Himmel (wie ein Regen) gefallen ist. [kolorierter Holzschnitt: Kornregen mit Darstellung von 7 Personen]. Darunter einspaltiger Prosatext. o.O.u.J. Zentralbibl.Zürich Pas II 9 Nr.15.

34. Ein ander wunderzeychen da es wider koren vnd waytzen von// Himel ab geregnet hat/ zu Weymar vnd Auerstadt/ im Land zu Thüringen/x. [Holzschnitt: Kornregen mit Darstellung von 3 Personen]. Darunter einspaltiger Prosatext. Am Ende: Gedruckt zu Nürnberg durch Steffan hamer Brieffmaler auff der Schmeltzhütten. Diederichs a.a.O. Bd.1, Abb.417.

35-37. Einblattdruck vom Kornregen. Oben Holzschnitt (in 35 koloriert): Kornregen mit Darstellung von 14 Personen. Darunter einspaltiger Prosatext: Kornregen in Zwispalen im Land ob der Ens, desgleichen [illegible] bei Ried im Bayrland, und in der Grafschaft Ortenburg. Am Ende: Gedruckt zů Augspurg/ Bey Michael Manger. Zentralbibl.Zürich Pas II,8,4. 36. GNM Nürnberg H.B. 756. 37: Detail.

38-39. Ein warhafftige/doch wunderseltzame geschicht/ So ge-//sehen ist worden/ von ettlichen namhaftigen Personen zů Zwispalen/ in dem Ländlein// ob der Enss... [Holzschnitt: Kornregen mit Darstellung von 11 Personen]. Darunter einspaltiger Prosatext. Am Ende: Getruckt zů Strasburg bey Peter Hug in S.Barbel Gassen. Herzog August Bibl.Wolfenbüttel.

40. Gleicher Titel wie 39. Darunter kolorierter Holzschnitt: Kornregen mit Darstellung von 5 Personen und hebräischen Buchstaben für 'Gott' in Wolkenloch/. Darunter einspaltiger Prosatext wie in Nr.39. [illegible] Am Ende: Getruckt zů Zurych by Christoffel Schwytzer/ Formschnyder// M:D.LXX. Zentralbibl.Zürich F 22, Nr.347.

41. Ein schön new-//es Lied/ von dem Korn reg-// nen/ auch Weytzen/ Erbeis vnd Rů-// ben... 1571 ... in der Schlesien/Nemlich zum// Goltberg/Lembergk vnd Law-// en/ Im Thon zu singen= //Ach Gott ich thue dirs klagen... Oder wie// das Lied von Vlmitz. 8 S.8°. Am Ende: Hieronymus Linck Glatzensis/ Or-//dinauit Görlitz Anno 1571.// den 21.Junij. Stadt- und UB Frankfurt a.M. Slg. H.Freytag XXI, 288.

42. Warhafftige neuwe zeytung vnnd Grundtlicher be-// richt/ wie es Koren von dem Himmel geregnet hat/ durch die gnad Gottes/ Zů Westerh// hausen/ in der Marck Brandenburg/ auch an anderen orthen mehr wie hie vnden// vermelt/den drey vnd zwenzigsten Aprilen des M.D.L.XXXI.Jars. [Holzschnitt: Kornregen mit Darstellung vonn 17 Personen]. Darunter dreispaltiges Gedicht. Am Ende: Erstlich gedruckt zů Magdeburg// Bey Joachim Walde. R.W.Brednich, in: Jb.f.Vlforschung 1o (1965) S.56 (Aus dem Stadtarchiv Überlingen, Reutlingers Sammelwerk Bd.16[1]).

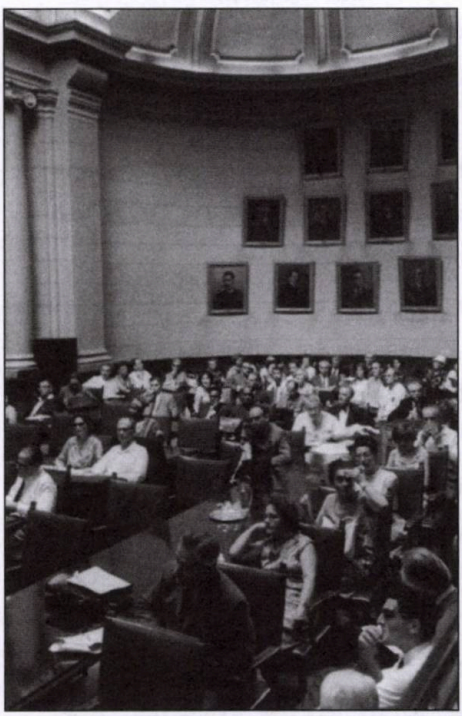
43. Detail aus 42.

44. Warhafftige vnd // Grundtliche ne-//we Zeittung/wie das es zu //Westerhausen/ inn der Marck// Brandeburg/kurtz vor Ostern/ durch// Gottes gnad Korn vom Himmel geregnet... Durch Ambrosium Wetz. Im Thon: Ach gott thů dich

erbarmen/x. M.D.LXXXI. 8 Bl.8°. Kolophon fehlt. da im Expl.überklebt. Stadt- und UB Frankfurt a.M., Slg. Gustav Freytag Nr.XXI, 116.

45. Warhafftige newe zeitung/ vnd wunderbarliche geschicht/ Wie es in der löblichen Churf.Marggraffeschafft// Brandenburg Korn vom Himmel geregnet den 28.Aprill dieses 80.Jars fein ordentlich beschrieben vns abgemalet. [kolorierter Holzschnitt wie in Nr.42]. Text wie Nr.42. Am Ende: Erstlich/ Gedruckt zu Magdeburg bey// Jochim Walde/jtzunder zu Erffurt/ bey Johan Beck. Zentralbibl.Zürich Pas II 17, Nr.14.

Grand aula of the Romanian Academy: opening plennary session (August 26th, 1969)



23: last chairs in the left: Dov Noy: Haifa, Faragó József: Cluj; 1st table row: L. Röhrich, Adeboye Babalola, S.G. Sankar*, K.D. Upadhyaya, P. Dinekov, the „Scandinavian group", Leopold Kretzenbacher: Münich; 2nd table row, in the front: Emilia Comişel: Bucharest; in the backside: Albert B. Lord; righthandside sits row: Radu Niculescu & Romulus Vulcănescu: Bucharest (FL 1913/12/44394)

24: going round from the front: Mariana Juster**: Haifa, before the oval rows: J. Faragó, D. Noy, R. Wildhaber, J. Sinninghe, P. Dinekov, the „Scandinavian group", L. Kretzenbacher, A.B. Lord, S.G. Sankar, K.D. Upadhyaya, A. Babalola, Nicolae Rădulescu: Bucharest, Pavel Ruxăndoiu: Bucharest, Mr. & Mrs. Röhrich (FL 1913/10/44416)***

* as in photo: REF/JEF 1-2/2020: 243, 300. ** text and photo: REF/JEF 1-2/2019: 219-227, 1-2/2017: 229. *** better or worse, the same characters can be noticed on same scene photos of REF/JEF 1-2/2017: 279.

Märchenmotive in den rumänischen Kolinden

von Ion Taloș

Das Problem der Beziehung zwischen dem Märchen und andern Gattungen der Volksdichtung - in besondern der Überschneidungen zwischen Märchen und Ballade, Märchen und Kolinda - ist in der rumänischen Fachliteratur nicht erörtert worden; grundlegende Werke der letzten Zeit erwähnen es kaum. Dennoch können wir die wenigen Bemerkungen nicht unbeachtet lassen, wie diejenigen Lazăr Săineanus in seiner umfangreichen Monographie Basmele române, 1895, und besonders das Kapitel über die stilistischen Ähnlichkeiten und Besonderheiten bei Märchen und Kolinda in einer bislang unveröffentlichen Arbeit Ovidiu Bîrleas. In den ausländischen Publikationen finden wir auch einige neuere, äusserst interessante Arbeiten, die thematische und stilistische Beziehungen zwischen Volksballade und Volkserzählung herausarbeiten.[1]

Eine umfassendere Arbeit über das gestellte Problem wird sicherlich erst in absehbarer Zukunft geschrieben werden können, nach der Fertigstellung der Themen- und Motivindizes der rumänischen Märchen und Kolinden, die sich im Rahmen des Instituts für Ethnographie und Folkloristik, Bukarest, bezw. der Sektion für Folkloristik Cluj, bereits in einem fortgeschrittenen Arbeitsstadium befinden. Dann wird die Problemstellung erschöpft werden können und die notwendigen Klarstellungen möglich sein.

Die rumänische Kolinda hat im allgemeinen märchenhafte Atmosphäre und einen ebensolchen Handlungsrahmen. Einige Elemente, die dazu beitragen, wären: der Bursche der zum erstenmal umsingen geht, wird von der Gruppe aufgefordert, ihr Herr oder König zu sein; in ständiger Begleitung seines Pferdes trägt der Held Kleider mit him-

lichen Zeichen (Sonne, Mond und Sterne) und geht oft auf die Jagd.

Das Mädchen ist immer eine Königstochter; es heiratet und wird "an den Hof" geführt, nicht als Magd sondern als Herrin über Diener und Reichtümer. Sogar die Schwester der Sonne kann vom heiratsfähigen Helden geraubt werden. An dem Gelage nimmt Gott selbst teil.

Die Schafe weiden am Himmel und werden in den Kreis des Mondes eingetrieben; sie haben Hörner, Hufe und Wolle von Gold; an den Hörnern der Ochsen strahlen zwei Sterne; die Hufe der Pferde, der Sattel des Helden sind von Silber; das Pferd springt in ein ödes Feld, das ergrünt, während die klaren Quellen zu rieseln beginnen.

Silbern ist der vor das Haus gepflanzte Baum und von Gold sind seine Früchte. Die Vögel haben goldenes Gefieder, ihre Augen sind Edelsteine, und der Schnabel ist von Silber; die Häuser sind voller Seide, die Einrichtung ist von Gold und Silber.

Doch die Ähnlichkeiten zwischen Märchen und Kolinda, wie sie in diesen Formelementen des Stils und der Bilder deutlich zu Tage treten, könnte jedoch auf dem Gebiet der motivischen Übernahmen weit fruchtbarer verfolgt werden.

I. Einige Märchenvarianten stellen dar, wie die Drachen Sonne und Mond und Sterne von Himmel stehlen (Aa-Th 328 A*).

1. Der Rote König verspricht seine Tochter und das halbe Königreich demjenigen, der Sonne und Mond aus der Gefangenschaft der Drachen befreit. Greuceanu macht sich auf die Suche und findet endlich Sonne und Mond, eingesperrt "im grünen Wald in einem Turm", den er mit einem Drachenfinger öffnet. Der Held schleudert Sonne und Mond an den Himmel, haut den Drachen den Kopf ab und kehrt nahh vielfachen Abenteuern zum Hof des Roten Königs zurück, wo er den versprochenen Lohn empfängt.[2]

2. Drei Drachen verschlingen Sonne, Mond und Sterne. Zorilă - Morgendämmer, Meziă-Mitternacht, und Seriă-Abenddämmer, auch Schönflügel genannt, gehen sie suchen. An einer Kupferbrücke haut Schön-

flügel einem Drachen den Kopf ab, und sofort leuchten die Sterne; nachdem auch die andern beiden Drachen an der Silber- und an der Goldbrücke getötet werden, gehen Mond und Sonne auf.[3]

3. Der Held tötet drei Drachen im silbernen, im goldenen und im diamanten Wald, dann entdeckt er Sonne, Mond und Sterne im Quersack, den das Pferd des Drachens aus dem diamanten Wald trägt.[4]

Dasselbe Motiv finden wir wieder in einer ziemlich verbreiteten Kolinda, wo die Beraubung des Paradieses folgendermassen dargestellt wird: in den Himmelshöhen steht eine reiche Tafel umgeben von Heiligen; in ihrer Mitte segnet Gott das Brot und den Wein; doch da erscheinen plötzlich die Erzengel Michael und Gabriel mit der Nachricht, dass die "Götzen" gestürmt und dem Paradies den "Mondlicht und die Sonnenwärme" geraubt haben, so dass der Himmel dunkel und die Hölle hell wurde; Gott schickt den Heiligen Elias, der Blitze schleudert, den heiligen Petrus, der flucht, und den Heiligen Johannes, der tauft, zu den Teufeln; sie nehmen die geraubten Dinge zurück und stellen die Ordnung wieder her. Obwohl heute religiös aufgemacht, ist die Verbindung zwischen diesem Text und dem erwähnten Märchen offensichtlich. Akademiemitglied Al.Rosetti[6] zeigt für diese Kolinda keinen sichern Ursprung an. Es scheint mir möglich, dass sie ursprünglich weltlichen Inhalt hatte, wodurch sie dem Märchen noch näher käme. Sie entwickelte sich wahrscheinlich durch die Ersetzung der Gestalten: der König wurde zu Gott, Zorilă-Morgendämmer, Meziă-Mitternacht und Serilă-Abenddämmer erscheinen nun als Heilige, und die Drachen wurden zu Teufeln. Die Entwicklung wäre durchaus erklärlich und hat im Volksmärchen zahlreiche Parallelen z.B. in der Ersetzung des Drachens durch den Teufel in neueren Varianten, oder aber in Erzählungen von Gewöhnsleuten, die religiösen Deutungen mehr zuneigen.

II. Das europäische Märchen kennt das Motiv der goldenen Äpfel, die von unbekannten oder mythologischen Wesen geraubt werden (AT 551). Die heutige Erzählforschung verfügt über Belege von Griechen, Albanen,

Kroaten, Toskanern, Sizilianern, Franzosen usw. Es wurden mehrere rumänische Varianten veröffentlicht, von denen einige besonders berühmt sind. Ich führe folgende an.

1. Jedes Jahr wurden die Früchte eines Wunderbaumes aus dem königlichen Garten geraubt; der König schickt seine drei Söhne der Reihe nach den Baum zu bewachen; der jüngste erfährt, dass der Goldene Vogel vom Hofe des Nachbarkönigs der Dieb sei...[7].

2. Der Orangenbaum aus dem Garten des Königs erblühte jeden Tag und reifte in jeder Nacht, doch kam der König nie dazu von den Früchten zu kosten, denn sie wurden jede Mitternacht von einem Drachen gestohlen. Dem jüngsten Königssohn gelingt es schliesslich, den Drachen tödlich zu verwunden und Orangen an den Hof zu bringen; die Handlung folgt weiterhin dem Motiv der verräterischen Brüder, weshalb sich nicht daraus eingehe.[8]

3. Der König hatte ~~nicht teil an~~ keinen Nutzen von den goldenen Äpfeln, die auf dem Baum am Rande des Gartens wuchsen, denn diese wurden nachts gestohlen. Keinem der Wächter gelingt es, den Dieb zu entdecken, nur Prisko, der Jüngste, vernimmt gegen Morgen ein leises Geräusch beim Baum. Er schiesst einen Pfeil ab, und es ertönt ein Stöhnen; es war ein Drache aus der andern Welt, der verwundet verschwindet. Prislea bringt dem König die goldenen Äpfel dar. Auch hier folgt weiter das Motiv der verräterischen Brüder.[9]

In der rumänischen Folklore gibt es einen Kolindentyp, in dem dargestellt wird, wie dulful de mare - eine mythologische Gestalt - nachts die goldenen Äpfel zerstört oder die Blumen niederwälzt. Ein Held wacht, fängt ihn mit einem Netz und schickt sich an, ihn mit dem Pfeil zu töten. Der Dulf bittet um Schonung und verspricht ihm seine Schwester als Frau.[10] In der Kolinda erscheint das Motiv, wie ersichtlich, etwas vereinfacht; gleichzeitig hat es sich, der Situation eines anzusingenden heiratsfähigen Burschen angepasst, hat aber dennoch etwas von der fabelhaften Märchenatmosphäre behalten.

Mit der Verführung dieses Motivs sind wir beim Problem der Verwandlungen angelangt. Mit ihm haben sich schon in der zweiten Hälfte des vorigen Jahrhunderts Wissenschaftler wie B.P.Hasdeu befasst.

III. Im rumänischen Märchen gibt es mehrere Arten von Tierverwandlungen. Verhältnismässig häufig erscheint die Selbstverwandlung - um mit Lutz Röhrich zu sprechen[11] - wie sich z.B. auf der magischen Flucht Held Schöngeboren und die Königstochter in eine Rose, eine Kirche, einen See, usw. verwandeln. Märchen und Kolinda gemeinsam ist aber die Verwandlung durch einen Fluch:

1. Die Tochter des Gelben Königs flieht mit dem Sohn des Weissen Königs, mit dem sie sich vermählt hatte; durch den Fluch ihrer Mutter wird sie für neun Jahre zu einem grünen Vogel; nach dem Ablauf der Frist wird sie wieder zur Frau.[12]

2. Ein Held sieht einer Kröte in die Augen und sagt ihr, sie werde seine Verlobte; die Kröte beginnt alsdann zu sprechen und wird vom Zauber, der sie gefangenhielt erlöst.[13] (AT 402 A^{x}, 400).

3. Eine in eine Schildkröte verwandelte Fee wird die Frau eines Königssohnes; dieser wirft den Panzer auf den Rat einer Zauberin ins Feuer, worauf die Frau sagt: "Schlecht hast du gehandelt, ich war eine Fee und verflucht, neun Jahre Schildkröte zu sein, und es fehlten nur noch wenige Tage, und ich wäre den Fluch los..."[14]

In der Kolinda finden wir ganz ähnliche Verwandlungen: der Held oder der König hört einen Hirsch im Wald röhren; er greift zu Pfeil und Bogen und schickt sich an, ihn zu töten. Der Hirsch bittet aber um Schonung, denn er sei kein Hirsch, sondern ein Mensch, den seine Eltern verflucht haben, neun Jahre, neun Monate und neun Wochen ein wildes Tier des Waldes zu sein; wenn die Frist abgelaufen ist, wird er ins Land herniedersteigen, ein Kloster stiften und eine gelbe Glocke läuten.[15] In andern Fällen antwortet das Tier, es sei der heilige Johannes, der Pate Gottes, der tagsüber umherwandelt um zu taufen und nachts um zu trauen.[16]

Eine andere häufige Verwandlung menschlicher Wesen im Märchen ist die in Vögel: die Jungfrauen (manchmal die Feen) werden zu Tauben, die Jünglinge zu Täuberichen, in der Regel, um den Kampf mit dem Drachen bestehen zu können.[17] In der Kolinde fliegen die Tauben in Schwärmen auf das Haustor, doch die Hausleute erwachen nicht; darauf tauchen sie auf den Grund des Meeres, nehmen Wasser und Steinchen, mit denen sie an die Fenster der Angesungenen "rieseln" und "hageln". Dabei sind sie eigentlich nicht Tauben sondern Ansinger, die an den Fenstern den Festtag verkünden. Durch die Schlusswendung steht die Handlung der Kolinde zwischen Phantastik und Wirklichkeit, denn die Tauben werden zur Stilfigur, die Metamorphose wird zur Metapher.[18]

IV. Die Aufzählung ähnlicher Motive, die den Märchen und der Kolinde gleicherweise eigen sind, könnte fortgesetzt werden. Ich greife nur eines noch heraus:

1. Das mutterlose Kind hat einen einzigen Freund - Bou-bourel (Ochs-Ochslein), das Wunderkalb, das zur selben Stunde, am selben Tag geboren wurde wie der Knabe; da die Stiefmutter sie verfolgt, beschliessen sie, gemeinsam in die Welt zu gehen; Bou-bourel trägt den Jungen zwischen den Hörnern.[19]

2. Ein Junge und ein Mädchen werden von ihrem Vater im Wald gelassen, der dem Wünschen der Stiefmutter Folge leistet; die Kinder irren im Wald umher und werden von Hunger und Durst gequält. Der Junge will aus einer Fuchsspur Wasser trinken, danach aus einer Bärenspur, doch hält ihn das Mädchen jedesmal ab, weil er dadurch zu einem Fuchs oder zu einem Bären würde. Er trinkt schliesslich aus einer Hirschspur und wird ein Wunderhirsch; zwischen den beiden Hörnern, die mit Edelsteinen besetzt sind, befindet sich eine seidene Wiege, in die der Hirsch seine Schwester legt und lange Zeit herumträgt, bis ein Königssohn sie als Frau an den Hof nimmt.[20]

Dieses Motiv erscheint oft in den Kolinden, die den Fleiss des heiratsfähigen Mädchens preisen. Auf dem Schiel, dem Alt oder dem

Meer, zwischen Tannen und Fichten schwimmt der schwarze Ochse, eine seidene Wiege zwischen den Hörnern; in der Wiege befindet sich ein Mädchen, das dem Vater einen Kragen und dem Geliebten oder Bruder ein Taschentuch stickt. Sie bittet den Ochsen, gelinder zu schwimmen, damit er sie in ihrer Arbeit nicht störe, denn sonst werden ihre Brüder, Vettern und Neffen ihn umbringen und aus seinen Nägeln kleine Becher machen.[21]

Ich nehme an, dass die parallele Vorführung einiger Kolinda- und Märchenmotive es vermag, konkret die betonte Verwandschaft zwischen diesen beiden Gattungen der Volksdichtung zu demonstrieren. Nach einer solchen Feststellung kann uns ein Dokument des Folklorearchivs Cluj[22] nicht überraschen, wo es um 1926-27 heisst, in Cîndreşti-Dorohoi konnten zwei Ansinger angetroffen werden, die "mit lauter Stimme und schön" in der Christnacht ein Märchen hersagten "wo vom Kampf des Helden Schöngeboren [...] mit dem Drachen die Rede ist."

Am Ende dieser Aufstellung muss unterstrichen werden, dass die weitere Untersuchung des Themas, mit dem ich mich beschäftigt habe, nicht nur Aufschluss über die Bewegung der Motive in verschiedenen Gattungen und Arten der rumänischen Folklore bringen, sondern mit Bestimmtheit auch zu eingehenderen Erkenntnissen über die Entwicklung unserer Kolinda führen wird.

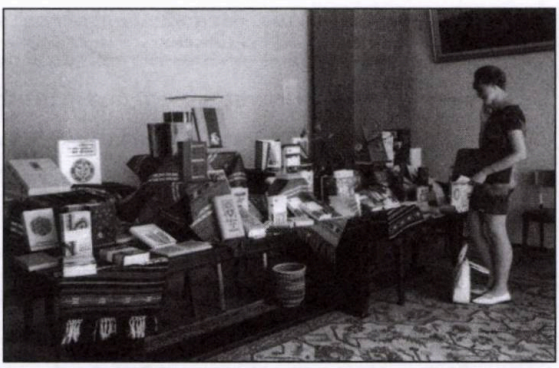
Märchenmotive in der rumänischen Kolinda

Ion T a l o ş - Cluj

Die rumänischen Kolinda weisen enge Beziehungen zum Märchen auf. Diese können in stilistischen Elementen, in der Atmosphäre wie auch in einigen gemeinsamen Motiven beobachtet werden.

Der Verfasser untersucht folgende Motive parallel: 1. den Raub von Sonne, Mond und Sternen; 2. die goldenen Äpfel werden vom unbekannten Mächten geraubt; 3–4. die Verwandlung des Menschen in ein Tier oder einen Vogel; 5. der Hirsch trägt zwischen den Hörnern eine seidene Wiege, worin sich ein Mädchen befindet, das zur Hochzeit rüstet.

Dann bringt der Verfasser eine Angabe aus Cîndreşti-Dorohoi, nach der in den Jahren 1926–27 zwei Ansinger statt Kolinden Zaubermärchen an den Fenstern der Leute vertrugen; ausserdem verweist er darauf, dass eine Fortführung dieses Themas beachtliche Beiträge zur genaueren Kenntnis der Entstehung und Entwicklung der rumänischen Kolinda liefern kann.



25: Venetia Newall
(FL 1912/13/44381)

26: Romanian books exhibition
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Personnages démoniaques dans les narrations populaires roumaines

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Nous appellerons "démoniaque" l'actant principal ou secondaire qui possède nécessairement le trait : M a l é f i q u e spécifié positivement (= + M a l é f i q u e).

Nous présenterons brièvement dans ce qui suit quelques observations concernant les personnages démoniaques occurents dans le matériel narratif populaire roumain. Soulignons dès le début que nous n'avons pas envisagé exhaustivement le matériel , que certains personnages "démoniaques" peuvent par conséquent avoir été omis. Nous estimons cependant que notre ouvrage aborde les cas typiques les plus fréquents et diffère d'une analyse intégrale seulement sur des points marginaux.

Nous avons dressé l'inventaire des motifs dans lesquels apparaissent des personnages démoniaques partant des légendes , des ~~narrations animalières~~ contes d'animaux, des contes fantastiques, des ~~narrations~~ contes - nouvelles et des historiettes.

En définissant les personnages, malgré le fait que nous sommes partis du motif, nous avons fait abstraction autant que possible des actes concrets que ceux-ci commettent. Nous avons opéré avec un vocabulaire de huit traits distinctifs que nous avons considérés nécessaires et suffisants au niveau classificatoire général. Les traits sont : 1. + M a l é f i q u e (=trait distinctif marqué positivement postulé initial pour tous les personnages démoniaques . Un actant est m a l é f i q u e par rapport à l'héros, au milieu naturel ou au milieu social) ; 2. + A n i m é (en postulant ce trait distinctif marqué positivement nous avons éliminé l'espace, le temps, les objets maléfiques. Nous envisageons le personnage -être dans l'acception la plus large) ; 3. ± H u m a i n (où - H u m a i n équivaut en même temps à animal et à monstre) ; 4. ± A u x i l i a i r e (où la spécification positive / négative indique la qualité d'actant secondaire /

principal. Le trait - A u x i l i a i r e implique , dans la plupart des cas, des rapports d'opposition maximale entre le héros et l'actant m a l é f i q u e ; 5. ± S u r h u m a i n (désignant la capacité ou l'incapacité de commettre des actes qui dépassent les possibilités humaines) ; 6. ± I n d i v i - d u e l (- I n d i v i d u e l équivaut à collectivité) ; 7. ± I n v a r i a b l e (désignant la capacité ou l'incapacité de se métamorphoser propre à l'actant) ; 8. ± H i é r a r c h i s é (trait incluant l'idée d'une structure à l'intérieur des collectivités homogènes d'actants).

Dans la série des traits distinctifs énumérés, les traits M a l é f i q u e et A n i m é ne connaissent que la spécification positive. Les autres traits distinctifs comportent la spécification binaire ± .

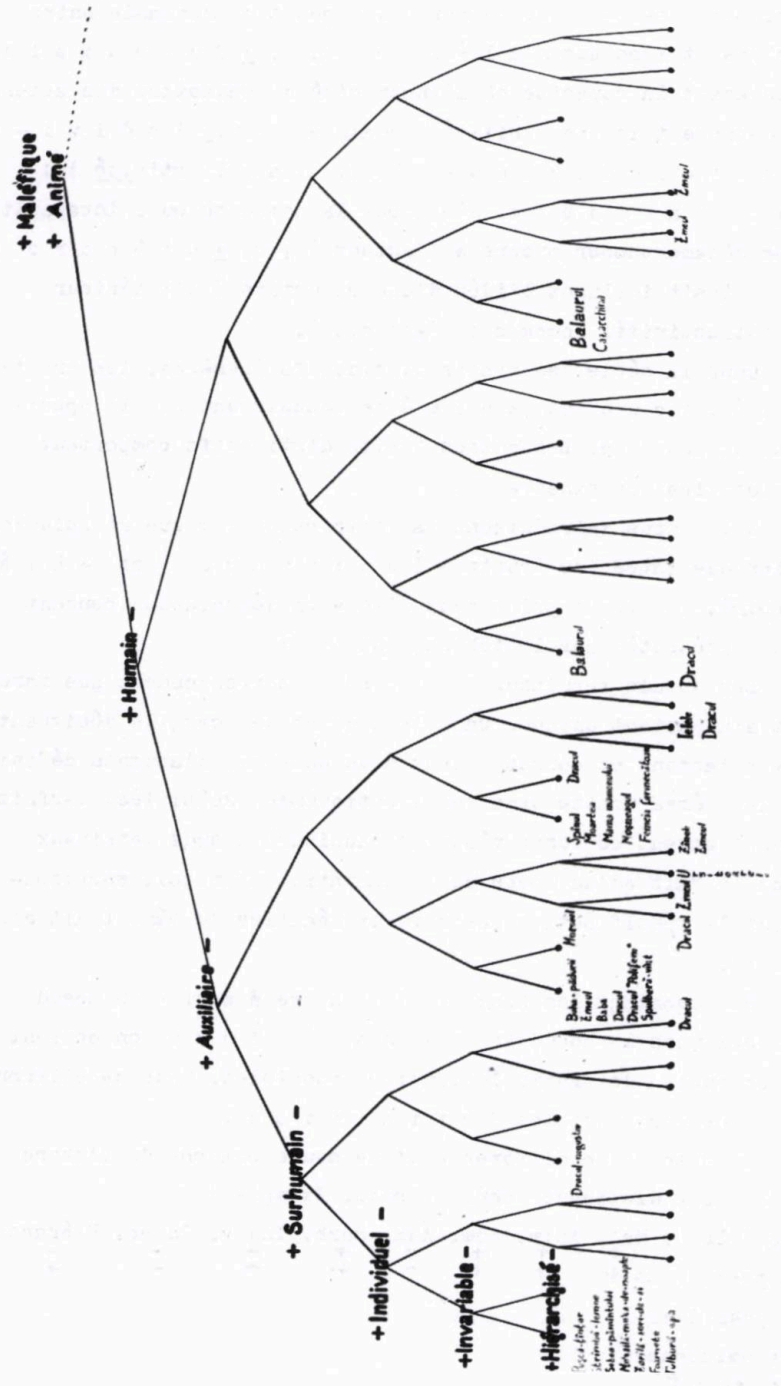
S i nous introduisons la restriction logique d'exclusion réciproque entre les traits + I n d i v i d u e l et + H i é r a r c h i s é , les types principaux d'actants démoniaques peuvent être représentés par le tableau suivant :

Les noeuds terminaux de l'arbre ne correspondent que rarement à un actant unique. Dans la plupart des cas, ils désignent un Archiactant et correspondent à un ensemble d'actants définis par les mêmes traits binaires identiquement spécifiés. Parfois, un seul actant se verra répartir plusieurs noeuds terminaux selon le fait qu'au cours de la narration il reçoit successivement la spécification positive et négative du même trait distinctif.

En remontant les branches de l'arbre à partir du noeud terminal vers le noeud initial M a l é f i q u e on obtient les ensembles de traits logiquement possibles. Nous appellerons chacun de ces ensembles d é f i n i t i o n .

L'orientation différente d'une seule branche de l'arbre suffit pour distinguer deux actants. Exemple :

	Mal.	Anim.	Hum.	Aux.	Surh.	Indiv.	Invar.	Hiérarch.
Zîne (Fées)	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−
Ursitoare (Fées qui président à la naissance d'un enfant).	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+


+ Maléfique
+ Animé
+ Humain –
+ Auxiliaire –
+ Surhumain –
+ Individuel –
+ Invariable –
+ Hiérarchisé –
Balaurd
Balaurd
Balaurd
Dracul
Dracul
Dracul

Le trait + H i é r a r c h i s é oppose le personnage collectif Ursitoare au personnage collectif - H i é r a r c h i s é Zîne .

Il y a dans le texte des personnages dont le nom ne correspond pas en fait à la définition et orienterait plutôt vers une définition différente. Nous avons à chaque fois inséré l'actant sous le noeud terminal qui assure sa définition exacte dans le contexte narratif concret. Ce n'est que lorsque deux actants fusionnaient dans un actant unique (admettaient la même définition) que nous avons inventorié le "résultat" sous le nom qu'il porte dans la narration. Le nombre de ces cas est insignifiant.

Partant du tableau présenté nous avons dégagé les observations suivantes:

1. Du nombre total (48) des définitions logiquement possibles pour les actants démoniaques , seulement un tiers (17) sont attestées dans les narrations analysées. L'étude des structures nonréalisées et des causes de leur nonréalisation peut être révélatrice. Étant donné que nous croyons que les traits distinctifs (pas obligatoirement identiques à ceux que nous proposons)peuvent constituer des u n i v e r s a u x , nous estimons que cette technique de travail facilite les comparaisons à venir entre les personnages démoniaques occurents ~~de~~ dans des folklores différents.

2. Parmi les définitions , trois valent pour un nombre très élevé d'actants. Nous les reproduisons ci-dessous :
(a)[+ M a l é f i q u e + A n i m é + H u m a i n + A u x i l i a i r e + S u r h u m a i n + I n d i v i d u e l + I n v a r i a b l e](groupant des actants comme Puşcă-ţînţar (lit. Tire-moustique), Strîmbă-lemne (lit.Tord-le -Bois), Seteapămîntului (lit. La-Soif-de-la-Terre),Mn'ezilă-mn'ez-de noapte (lit. celui-de-minuit), Zorilă-zori-de-zi (lit. celui-de-l'aube Foamete (Famine), Tulbură-apa (lit. Trouble-l'eau) ;
(b)[+ M a l é f i q u e + A n i m é + H u m a i n - A u x i l i a i r e + S u r h u m a i n + I n d i v i d u e l + I n v a r i a-

bile] (regroupant des actants tels que Buha pădurii (lit. le-hibou -des-forêts), Baba (la Vieille), Zmeul (le Dragon), Dracul (le Diable), Dracul-"Polifem" (le Diable-Polyphème), Spulberă-vînt (lit. Éparpille-le-vent) ;

(c)[+ M a l é f i q u e + A n i m é + H u m a i n - A u x i - l i a i r e - S u r h u m a i n + I n d i v i d u e l + I n - v a n i a b l e] (regroupant des actants tels que Spînul(le Glabre), Moartea (la Mort), Mama mamonului (lit. la Mère du Diable), Mosneagul (le Vieillard), Femeia fermecatoare (la femme sorcière).

Il s'agit , dans tous les cas énumérés de personnages relativement dénués d'importance. Seuls les actants représentatifs ont une d é f i n i t i o n individualisante.

3. En ensemble, la catégorie des actants - H u m a i n est beaucoup plus réduite que la catégorie des actants + H u m a i n. Le fait que les trois d é f i n i t i o n s mentionnées regroupent exclussivement des actants démoniaques + H u m a i n signifie sur le plan de l'évolution du genre un rapprochement de la réalité aux dépens du fantastique.

4. Du fait qu'un nombre important d'actants ont la même structure découle naturellement la question concernant les différences occultes qui existent entre ceux-ci. Nous estimons que (a) le motif dans lequel figurent les actants ainsi que (b) les rapports qui s'établissent entre les actants sont de nature à individualiser le personnage.

(a)L'actant Zmeu (le Dragon) se définit par les fonctions suivantes :

- le vol de filles (par analogie, la femme du Dragon vole des garçons)
- les forces du Zmeu (Dragon) sont souvent associées à celles du Balaur (Dragon). Le meurtre du Balaur (Dragon) dépositaire des forces du Zmeu (Dragon) attire après soi la transformation du trait + S u r h u m a i n en - S u r h u m a i n .
- le Zmeu chasseur annonce son retour au palais en jetant sa massue.

- le Zmeu provoque son ennemi à une lutte compétitive consistant à manger un troupeau de bétail. Une lutte avec les os restants s'ensuit.

Dans certains cas, la même fonction (le même motif) subit des modifications de nature à définir de façon univoque l'actant. Ainsi, l'espace est un contexte individualisateur pour l'actant Diable dans les hypostases enfer, moulin, grenier, carrefour ; il caractérise en échange l'actant Balaur (Dragon) dans les hypostases espace aquatique, espace de feu, etc.

Les rapports d'opposition s'établissent exclusivement entre le héros et l'actant démoniaque, jamais entre actants démoniaques. Les narrations roumaines ne connaissent pas l'affrontement de deux actants maléfiques. Cette relation d'opposition peut se neutraliser seulement dans le cas où le personnage démoniaque devient serviteur, aide, ami du héros. À partir de ce moment l'action maléfique du personnage démoniaque n'atteint plus le héros mais continue à affliger les autres actants. Dans cette situation se trouve, par exemple le personnage Cazarchina qui, après être vaincu(e) par le hèros, devient son aide et, en tant que telle, tue des démons.

Un nombre assez grand d'actants démoniaques présentent également l'alternative actant maléfique et l'alternative actant-aide. Cette deuxième alternative n'a pas été considérée, vu que dans ce cas, les actants supposent en tant que traits définitoires initiaux les traits - Maléfique et + Animé.

C'est le cas d'actants comme Ochila, Sfarmă-Piatră (Brise-la-pierre), Gerilă, Setilă, Zorilă, Miază-Noapte (lit. celui-de-minuit), De-cu-sară (lit. celui-du-soir) sont possesseurs d'une qualité unique exacerbée.

Dans le cas où ils se refusent à collaborer avec le héros, les actants maintiennent leur nature maléfique par rapport à tous les autres personnages, sans différence. Ils agissent en même temps contre le héros et contre le milieu.

L'actant Puşcă-ţîntar se définit comme il suit: " Si j'ai faim! Comment ne pas tuer? Il faut que je mange - qu'il dit - c'est mon métier " (I,221); Setea pamîntului (lit. La-soif-de-la-terre) et Foamete (Famine) consomment toute l'eau, respectivement toutes les victuailles, en laissant les hommes dans la souffrance.

Une double valeur, maléfique et bénéfique, définit les Ursitoare (fées qui président à la naissance d'un enfant). Leur nature ambigue ne nous parait pas obéir à des lois, mais plutôt à un schéma méchanique de successions ,ou bien exclusivement au hasard.

Le dragon (Zmeu) est rarement non-m a l é f i q u e, le Diable l'est souvent; rappelons l'hyposthase Diable-victime (le héros obtient par la ruse des objets merveilleux appartenant aux diables) si fréquente dans les narrations folklorique de tous les peuples. Signalons que la modification du trait + M a l é f i q u e se produit , au niveau de l'actant Diable surtout dans le contexte Pauvre, Enfant, Serviteur,etc.

L'examen de la branche - M a l é f i q u e + A n i m é d'un tableau plus vaste (et plus complet) que celui que nous avons dressé serait de nature à mettre en évidence les rapports multiples entre les actants m a l é f i q u e s (m a l é f i q u e s - b é n é f i q u e s) et les actants indubitablement et constamment bénéfiques. Une discussion semblable dépasse cependant l'objectif de notre exposé.

Nous avons signalé le rôle individualisateur du motif et des rapports entre actants pour les actants définis par les mêmes traits distinctifs. Il existe des cas où, néanmoins aucun des facteurs signalés n'est passible d'individualiser. L'unique élément différenciateur qui subsiste est le nom de l'actant. Dans ce dernier cas , les actants peuvent être substitués par le narrateur sans conséquences pour la structure narrative.

6. Les actants "importants" se révèlent susceptibles de recevoir plusieurs définitions. C'est le cas du Zmeu (Dragon) qui admet 5 définitions, du Drac (Diable) qui admet 7 définit

tions. Ceci exprime non seulement la conception diffuse du narrateur concernant ces personnages maléfiques , mais aussi et plutôt leur rôle ambigu dans la narration. Le fait est frappant que justement les actants principaux très fréquents sont ceux avec une structure multiforme. Si nous ajoutons à cette observation celle concernant laquelle un actant "rare" est caractérisé par une structure constante unique , nous nous demandons si dans une étape antérieure du genre , les hypothases aujourd'hui distinctes d'un actant très fréquent ne correspondent pas à des actants différents fusionnés ultérieurement sous le nom de l'actant avec le plus de prestige.

Nous sommes d'avis que la technique employée dans le traitement des actants m a l é f i q u e s peut prouver son utilité non seulement dans l'analyse du matériel roumain . Le vocabulaire des traits distinctifs suggérés est susceptible de raffinnements et de précisions, le matériel ne doit pas obligatoirement consister de narrations. Les résultats pourraient se révéler théoriquement décisifs.

⊗ V. Ovidiu Bîrlea, Antologie de proză populară epică, Editura pentru literatură, 1966, vol. I-III.

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